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HARVARD STUDIES

IN

CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

*EDITED BY A COMMITTEE OF THE CLASSICAL
INSTRUCTORS OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY*

VOLUME XXI

1910



PUBLISHED BY HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS, U.S.A.

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PREFATORY NOTE

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CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY NOTES ON VITRUVIUS

BY MORRIS H. MORGAN

IN this article, which is a continuation of studies¹ undertaken during my preparation of a new translation of Vitruvius, I have endeavored, as heretofore, to understand him as we find him in the best manuscripts without having recourse to conjectural emendation,—a device which seems to me particularly out of place in the case of a document like the *De Architectura*, unique in its kind and therefore the more precious. I would not defend and trust that I never have defended monstrosities, whether of language or of syntax, but I confess that I am often readier to admit my own inability to understand the manuscript tradition than to distrust it. For on the whole it appears to be remarkably good, when we consider the unusual difficulties and peculiarities with which the mediaeval scribe had to contend. As for our author himself, his good faith is, I trust, no longer open to question, and I believe that he might truly have said with Condivi, the biographer of Michael Angelo: ‘E se punto laude me ne viene, mi contento che sia, non di buono scrittore, ma di raccoglitor di queste cose diligente e fidele, affermando d’ haverle raccolte sinceramente, d’ haverle cavate con destrezza e con lunga pazienza dal vivo oraculo suo: e ultimamente, d’ haverle scontrate e confermate col testimonio de’ scritti, e d’ huomini degni di fede.’

2, *praef.* 3 (32, 8): *animadverto si qui deduxerit eo loci coloniam fore ut iudicium eius vituperetur.*

Here *fore*, the reading of codd. E G S², is followed by the editors, while H and S have *forte*. Perhaps Vitruvius wrote *si qui forte deduxerit* and the scribe of the archetype of our manuscript having accidentally omitted *forte*, added it in his margin. Then the scribes of H and

¹ On the Language of Vitruvius, *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XLI, 1906, pp. 467–502; The Preface of Vitruvius, *ib.* XLIV, 1909, pp. 149–175; Notes on Vitruvius, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XVII, 1906, pp. 1–14.

S took it as a correction of *fore* and so this necessary word disappeared from their text, while the scribes of E and G kept *fore* and neglected *forte*. For somewhat similar behavior by the different scribes in other passages, see Degering, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* XX, 1900, p. 11, and for *si qui forte* in Vitruvius, cf. 24, 10; 184, 22.

2, 3, 1 (38, 5): *paleaeque in is non cohaerescunt propter asperitatem.*

Here the *Thesaurus* (s. v., p. 821, 72) refers *asperitatem* to *laterum*, that is to the bricks (*in is*) of which Vitruvius speaks in the passage. This is an oversight, for the context shows that it should be referred to the sandy or pebbly clay or gravel, against the use of which he is warning his readers. And the word does not mean 'dryness, barrenness of the clay,' as it is interpreted in Harper's *Lexicon*, but it is the literal 'roughness' of the material that makes the trouble. Vitruvius goes on to recommend another kind for its 'smoothness' (*propter levitatem*, 38, 7). In his next chapter, on sand, he uses *asperitas* (40, 6) as brickmakers now employ the word 'sharp.'

93, 1 ff. (4, 3, 6): *Dividendae autem sunt in corona ima ad perpendiculum triglyphorum et medias metopas viarum directiones et guttarum distributiones, ita uti guttae sex in longitudinem, tres in latitudinem pateant. Reliqua spatia, quod latiores sunt metopae quam triglyphi, pura relinquuntur aut fulmina scalpantur, etc.*

In this passage Vitruvius uses the word *via* as an architectural term. It is not thus used, I believe, by any other Latin author, nor have I found ὁδός or any similar word thus employed in Greek. The unique usage, coupled with misunderstanding of the Vitruvian passage, has given rise to much confusion in modern writings. For instance, *viae* is taken as equivalent to *mutuli* in the general treatments of Doric architecture by Baumeister (*Denkmäler*, p. 265) and Durm (*Handb. der Architektur*, II, 1, p. 131); by Wiegand in his *Puteolanische Bauinschrift* (*Jahrb. f. Cl. Phil., Spb.* XX, 1894, p. 739); and by Reber in his German translation of Vitruvius. But Wiegand in a later work (*Porosarchitektur der Akropolis*, see especially pp. 16 and 57) and Perrault in his seventeenth century French translation apply it to the spaces or voids left *between* mutules; so also Dyer in his *Details of the Olympian Treasuries* (*Jour. Hellen. Studies*, XXVI, 1906, p. 82). Finally the Spanish translator Ortiz, the German Rode, and the English

Newton (and perhaps Gwilt, though his vagueness here, as in so many difficult passages, is provoking), refer it to the spaces or channels between *guttae*. Of these three different interpretations, the last seems to me to be the right one. To be sure, as one looks at the entablature of a Doric temple, the spaces between the mutules, being larger, attract more attention than the spaces between *guttae*, and we may well wish that there were a technical term in Latin with which to denote them. But if Vitruvius has already used *via* to denote something else, we ought not to select it to fill this want. Again, Vitruvius seems to apply the phrase *reliqua spatia* to the spaces between mutules. Finally (and, one may think, conclusively) Vitruvius says that the *guttarum distributiones* as well as the *viarum directiones* are over the middle of the metopes. How could the *guttae* be there, if *viae* denotes voids between mutules? As for the first interpretation, that *viae* means the mutules themselves, this can hardly be right because Vitruvius's word for mutules is *mutuli*; cf. for instance 89, 5; 7; 10; 27; 90, 2 and 7. Furthermore, the word *directiones* in his phrase *viarum directiones* shows that he does not mean mutules, because it is natural to believe that here as elsewhere he is using *directiones* in its proper sense of 'straight lines' (cf. 26, 24 *directiones vicorum*; 3, 24 *linearum directiones*; 23, 14 *platearum et angiportuum directiones*), whereas mutules slanted downwards, as he well knew (cf. 89, 7 *mutuli inclinatis sculpturis*). The difficulty has really arisen because Vitruvius in his characteristic way has omitted to state in our passage that the *viae* and *guttae* were to be seen on the under surface of the mutules themselves; he is so anxious to tell us about their arrangement ('six *guttae* broad and three deep') that he omits to say just where 'beneath the corona' they were situated. He had already said (89, 6) that the *mutules* were beneath the corona, and perhaps he actually took it for granted that an intelligent reader might thus be led to understand, without being told, that the *guttae* and *viae* were part of the mutules! Instead of finding fault with him for his omission to mention the exact spot, we ought to be grateful to him for giving us our only piece of literary evidence that there were ever any *guttae* above triglyphs. Newton's explanation of the origin of this Vitruvian use of *via* is the best which I have seen; rendering 'the directions of the *viae*,' he adds this note: 'The *viae* I conceive to be the intervals or spaces between the *guttae*; and that

they are so called because they resemble the viae, or streets, about the islands of houses in a city' — that is, as we should say, about city blocks. The whole passage I translate as follows: — 'Set off on the under side of the corona, vertically over the triglyphs and over the middle of the metopes, are the viae in straight lines and the guttae arranged in rows six guttae broad and three deep. The spaces remaining (due to the fact that the metopes are broader than the triglyphs) may be left unornamented or may have thunderbolts carved on them.' It is clear, I think, that 'the spaces remaining' are the voids between one set of guttae with their surrounding straight 'streets' and the next set, — that is, between mutules. The thunderbolts would of course be carved on the soffits of the corona over these voids, so that one could look up from below at them as one looked up at the guttae.

5, *praef.* 1 (103, 7 ff.): *Non enim de architectura sic scribitur uti historia aut poemata. Historiae per se tenent lectores. Habent enim novarum rerum varias expectationes. Poematorum vero carminum metra et pedes, etc.*

I have printed the last six words as they stand in the best manuscripts, but it is obvious that both *poematorum* and *carminum* cannot be retained. Rose in both his editions followed Lorentzen in throwing out *carminum* as a gloss. But why should a word so readily understood as *poematorum* have been glossed, especially as it has just occurred two lines above and without a gloss there? Is it not more likely that *carminum* was the original reading and that it was glossed by *poematorum*, suggested by the foregoing context? This might seem to be the natural explanation of the double reading, whoever were the Latin author under consideration; but it becomes more than a probability when we have observed how constantly Vitruvius substitutes a synonymous word or phrase instead of repeating what he has already said. Attention has not hitherto been drawn, I believe, to this habit of his; but the fact is that, in view of what may be called the stylelessness of Vitruvius, one is sometimes tempted to assert that the device of using synonymes to relieve monotony was about the only stylistic principle of which he had much knowledge. And his employment of it is not confined to his rhetorical prefaces, for it appears frequently in the more technical parts of his work. Thus, in the third chapter of the tenth book (an explana-

tion of the motive principles of derricks and other hoisting machines), if a translator wishes to represent the Latin exactly, he will be hard put to it to render the simple idea of 'raising a load' in the six different ways by which Vitruvius expresses it: 252, 15, *onerum facere levationes*, 'accomplish the raising of loads'; 19, *onerum facit egressus in altum*, 'causes the load to move upward'; 22, *faciunt onerum elationes*, 'make the load rise'; 253, 2, *id onus extollit*, 'heaves up the weight'; 12, *pondus oneris erit excitatum*, 'the weight of the load will be raised'; 15, *onus elevare*, 'elevate the weight.' In the ninth chapter of this book he has two passages descriptive of exactly the same sort of a cog-wheel; in the first (263, 26) we read **super** (adverb) *autem tympanum planum eadem ratione dentatum . . .* (264, 7) **fiat foramen unum**; and in the second (265, 7) **insuper** (adverb) . . . *tympanum planum ad eundem modum dentatum . . .* (265, 15) *unum foramen excavetur*. Variation in prepositions is also not infrequent: a very striking example occurs towards the end of the second book (62, 1), *ideo infernates, quod ex apricis locis adportantur, meliores sunt quam quae ab opacis de supernatibus advehuntur* (observe also the different verbs in the two dependent clauses). A characteristically varied set of sentences is employed in the sixth book in the passage which treats of the proportions of the 'alae' of Roman houses (141, 10-19). Observe here how the five apodoses are expressed: *ex tertia parte eius constituitur; ex his una pars alis detur; quarta pars longitudinis alis tribuatur; ex his una pars fiat alarum latitudo; in quinque partes divisa longitudo iustam constituerit latitudinem alarum*. Compare in the third book his rules for calculating the diameter of a column at its necking (74, 7-22), noting the five different verbs with which the sentences end: *constituitur, fiat, perficiatur, habeat, contrahantur*. And see how he interchanges verbs which mean 'dissolve' in the third chapter of the eighth book (200, 4-19): *discutere, dissipare, dissolvere, dissilire*. Often he takes occasion to give Greek equivalents for Latin words, and then he almost always varies his verbs: for instance, in 150, 27: *nostri . . . xystra appellant, quae Graeci παραδρομίδας dicunt. Item προθυρα Graece dicuntur . . . nos autem appellamus prothyra quae Graece dicuntur διαθυρα . . . nostri telamones appellant . . . Graeci eos ατλαντας vocitant*. Compare with this the passages beginning at 150, 18; 243, 27; 252, 12; in 113, 14 we have *nominatur* with *dicitur* above and below; see

also 228, 4 and 7 (*nominant* and *vocant*). But this habit is not confined to verbs. Thus, in the eighth chapter of the fifth book, speaking of case endings, he uses the phrase *extremis casibus* (121, 13), but *novissimos casus* three lines below. In the same book, the idea of musical concord is expressed in one place by *consonantiae communitatem* (115, 18) and ten lines lower by *symphoniarum communitates*. Particularly striking is 101, 25: *Nonnulli etiam de Tuscanicis generibus sumentes . . . transferunt in Corinthiorum et Ionicorum operum ordinationes*; for here (and only here) he uses *ordinationes* when thinking of 'orders' of architecture and does so because he had already used his regular word *genus* in the same passage. Why does the strange term *thyromaton* appear in 96, 17 and *thyromatis* in 142, 16? Simply because in each case he had used respectively *ostiorum* and *forum* (from *fores*) two lines above. Compare also *aqua* and *liquoris* (139, 13 and 15); *fervor* and *calor* (189, 23 f.). But I need not enlarge upon this subject. Similar variations are constantly occurring on the pages of Vitruvius and they add not a little to the task of a conscientious translator. I have perhaps said enough to show why *carminum* rather than *poematorum* is the more probable reading in the passage with which this note began. Whether it means here 'poetry' or 'poems' (cf. 218, 2 *Accii autem carminibus*) does not matter. For *carmina* as opposed to *historiae*, see the examples collected in the *Thesaurus*, s. v. *carmen*, 467, 73 ff.; for instance, Sen. *Ep.* 33, 2, *eiusmodi vocibus referta sunt carmina, refertae historiae*.

5, 7, 1 (120, 10): *ab intervallo sinistro*.

In this expression (as well as in *ab intervallo dextro*, 120, 12), the word *intervallum* signifies 'horizontal distance' or 'distance in the same plane,' and it is equivalent to the geometrical expression διάστημα τὸ πρὸς διαβήτην (Heron, *Dioptra*, 218, 21 Schoene; cf. 222, 16 and 20, and see the note in Schmidt's Heron, Vol. 1, p. xxxiv). Vitruvius has a similar use of *intervallum* in 235, 18: *e centro aequinoctiali intervallo aestivo circinatio*, 'a circle from the equinoctial centre with a radius extending to the summer ray,' that is, to the point at which the summer ray cuts the circumference mentioned just above (235, 16). It may be noted that Vitruvius never employs *radius* to denote the radius of a circle.

5, 10, 4 (126, 11 ff.): *Magnitudines autem balnearum videntur fieri pro copia hominum. Sint ita compositae. Quanta longitudo fuerit, tertia dempta, latitudo sit praeter scholam labri et alvei.*

So the manuscripts, and Rose in his first edition. In his second he gives *pro copia hominum, <dummodo> sint ita dispositae*. The insertion of *dummodo* and the change from *compositae* to *dispositae* are drawn from Faventinus 300, 14, who has *magnitudines autem balnearum pro hominum copia aut voluntatis gratia fieri debebunt, dummodo cellae sic disponantur ut quanta longitudo fuerit tertia dempta latitudo disponatur*; compare also Palladius 1, 39, 3: *cellae autem sic disponantur ut quadrae non sint, sed verbi gratia si quindecim pedibus longae fuerint, decem latae sint*. But there are reasons why these later authors are dangerous guides in establishing the correct text of Vitruvius in this passage. In the first place they are speaking of baths in the houses of private gentlemen, while Vitruvius is describing a bathing establishment for a city. Secondly, they do not distinguish between the different rooms of a bath as Vitruvius does a few lines below (126, 20 *laconicum sudationesque, etc.*). Third, the verb *disponere* is never elsewhere used by Vitruvius when he is referring to proportionate dimensions, of which he is certainly thinking in our passage. He uses the verb frequently (see Nohl's index), but always in the general sense of 'arranging' or 'setting at intervals,' and never with proportionate measurements in his context. On the other hand, he does use *componere* in such contexts; cf. 127, 22: *laconicum ad eundem modum, quam supra scriptum est, compositum*, where the allusion is to the proportions of the *sudatio* given two lines above. See also 98, 4, *hyperthyra autem ad eundem modum componantur quemadmodum in Doricis, pro ratis partibus*. And cf. 117, 23 and 65, 9. For these reasons the text of Rose's second edition must be considered as very doubtful. But some emendation is necessary, for in spite of *magnitudines balnearum*, which would lead one to think that *compositae* refers to the proportions of the whole establishment, it obviously does not, but merely to those of a *caldarium*, as we see from the words *praeter scholam labri et alvei*, which can refer only to that room. And Vitruvius continues to deal only with that room until we reach *laconicum sudationesque* (126, 20). In fact, he has been dealing with it alone ever since 125, 14. Observing therefore that the word *caldariis* occurs in 126, 8, we must either think that three lines below,

in our passage, the word *balnearum* is used on his principle of variety (see what I have said above, p. 5), and hence keep the reading of Rose's first edition; or else we should suppose, not that *dummodo* has dropped out, but that we have lost some phrase (which must be feminine in gender) signifying the room called the *caldarium*. I prefer the former explanation, but in either case I should retain *compositae* unchanged. I may remark that the word *cella* is not found in Vitruvius to denote a room in a bath, though it is found in both Faventinus and Palladius. Does its occurrence in them suggest that it has dropped out of our passage, or is it further evidence that they were not following him slavishly?

5, 11, 2 (127, 18): *ad sinistram ephebei elacothesium, proxime autem elacothesium frigidarium.*

Here Rose in his second edition follows Marini (with a reference also to W. A. Becker) in reading <*tepidarium*> instead of *frigidarium*. Marini proposed this substitution because he thought that there ought to be a *tepidarium* at this point among the rooms of a Greek palaestra since one was placed there in a Roman bath (cf. 126, 20); and he also believed that *frigidarium* would mean the same as *frigida lavatio*, already mentioned two lines above in our passage. Becker also asserted this identity in his *Charicles* (2, p. 232, ed. Göll), stating that he had shown it in his *Gallus*. But no proof of such identity is to be found in the *Gallus*, either in Becker's own editions or in the revision by Göll. It seems more probable, however, that the *frigida lavatio* was merely a room in which one was washed off by a douche, not a room containing, like the *frigidarium*, a *piscina* for a plunge. The term *frigida* in Petronius (28) may refer to it; see Friedländer's note. In the same way *calidam lavationem*, occurring a few lines below (127, 23), should not be taken as the equivalent of the Roman *caldarium*. We do not know with exactness the arrangements for bathing in Greek *palaestrae* which Vitruvius is sketching in this chapter; see how cautiously Mau speaks of them in his article on *Bäder* (Pauly-Wissowa, p. 2744), where he remarks that no *tepidarium* is mentioned by Vitruvius in our passage. I therefore retain the reading *frigidarium*.

5, 11, 4 (128, 18): *post xystum autem stadium.*

It is more than doubtful whether *xystum* (acc. sing. masc.) of the manuscripts should be changed to *xysta* (neut. pl.), which appears in Rose's second edition. We know nothing actually (except from this passage) about the position of the stadium with reference to the other parts of normal *palaestrae*; see Fougères in Daremberg and Saglio's dictionary (s. v. *gymnasium*, p. 1691). Vitruvius may be mistaken in placing it behind the *xystus* rather than behind the *xysta*, but his error, if it be such, calls for a note rather than for a change in the text. He has very carefully distinguished between the words *xystus* and *xysta* (neut. pl.) throughout § 4 here and also elsewhere (150, 25-151, 1).

6, praef. 6 (133, 26): *qui non modo architecturae sed omnino ne fabricae quidem notitiam habent.*

The insertion of a second *non* after *modo* in Rose's second edition is quite unnecessary. It cannot be justified as a habit of Vitruvius, for there is no other sentence of this kind in his work. And that *non modo non* in such sentences is the exception, not the rule, is well known; see Schmalz, *Lat. Gr.*³, p. 353. The presence of *omnino* does not require it; cf. Cic. *Parad.* 5, 33; *Fam.* 9, 15, 4.

6, 2, 4 (139, 26): *sed ita uti nihil in his operibus desideretur.*

Müller-Strübing's omission of *sed*, adopted in Rose's second edition, seems unfortunate. The phrase *sed ita uti* is corrective in nature, as in 107, 28: *Aerarium, carcer, curia foro sunt coniugenda, sed ita uti magnitudo symmetriae eorum foro respondeant.* In our passage Vitruvius is referring back in thought to 139, 4, *uti id videatur recte esse formatum in aspectuque nihil desideretur*, and so he says: 'the diminutions or additions should be made, *but* in such fashion that the buildings lose nothing thereby.'

6, 6, 7 (148, 24): *itineribus, clivis, scalis.*

Vitruvius is talking about windows and says that they are particularly necessary in parts of buildings where people carrying burdens are apt to meet and run against one another, if light is not provided. As such places he specifies *itineres*, *clivi*, and *scalae*. By *itineres* he must mean ordinary passageways with level floors, and by *clivi* passageways with inclined floors. I have not found *clivus* used by any other author to

denote such a thing, and the only lexicographer who has booked the usage seems to be Georges. The *Thesaurus* has not yet reached this word. But I observed a good example of such an incline leading to a cellar in the House of the Centaur at Pompei. Another, not leading to a cellar, but to a back door from a higher level, is mentioned by Overbeck (*Pompeji*⁴, p. 342) as found in the House of Castor and Pollux. An English translator cannot use the word 'ramp' to render *clivus* (as a German or French translator might), because in English usage it appears to be confined to fortification. We have no special term for such a passage inside a house, and must therefore use some such phrase as 'in passages, level or inclined' to translate *in itineribus, clivis*.

6, 7, 3 (149, 24): *porticusque peristylorum albariis et tectoriis et ex intestino opere locunariis ornatas.*

Here Vitruvius, speaking of Rhodian peristyles, says that their colonnades are 'adorned with polished stucco in relief and plain, and with coffered ceilings of woodwork.' He distinguishes between *albaria* and *tectoria*. This is also the case in 126, 7, *opere albario sive tectorio*, where *sive* appears instead of *aut*; cf. 94, 22 and my *Language of Vitruvius*, p. 486. In two other passages he uses *opus albarium* of the cornices in a senate house (108, 8) and in Corinthian oeci (143, 17), where stucco worked in relief must be meant; for he is thinking of the cornices which he calls *coronae caelatae* in the third chapter of his seventh book (167, 9 and 13). He there uses *album opus* (167, 13) of the same form of decoration; but a little below, where he refers to flat or plain stucco on which fresco painting is to be done, he always uses *tectorium* (167, 20; 168, 10 and 17; 169, 1, etc.). Only in one passage does he use the adjective *albarium* in a general sense, where he has no need of distinguishing between the plain and enriched form of stucco work (*de albariis operibus*, 165, 14). He never uses *tectorium* of enriched stucco. For the distinction, see Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. *albarium*, where, however, there are several misprints in the references.

8, 3, 20-23 (200, 24-202, 20).

In this passage, which contains the three Greek epigrams, my examination of cod. H itself and of photographs which I have of these pages, shows that the readings from it, cited by Rose in his apparatus, are in

a few cases incorrect. The differences are not important, but for the sake of exactness I give them here: 200, 24 *exco*, not *ex quo*; 201, 8 MECEMBPNON, not -CHM-; 202, 1 MONEKOY, not -CKOY; 202, 14 *graecae*, not *graece*; 202, 20 (at the end of the epigram) eaH, not eaN. Hence in this last passage, the Harley manuscript preserves the letter η which we need for the correct reading $\epsilon\delta\eta$, although in the first passage it gives ϵ for η (as is said to be always the practice of cod. G).

8, 6, 13 (211, 6): *cum ad aquam erit peruentum tunc saepiatur structura ne obturetur vena.*

I read *structura* here with codd. E G S, instead of *astructura*, which is given in Rose's second edition and which is drawn from the erroneous *saepiaturas structura* of cod. H. No such word as *astructura* is entered in the *Thesaurus*, and we want here only an ordinary word for a stone wall. Vitruvius is speaking of wells and the passage which I have quoted means: 'When water is reached, then a wall should be built round the well without stopping up the vein.' Rose's reference in his apparatus to Faventinus 291, 25 is particularly unfortunate, for there the wall is to be of 'signinum work' (*cum aqua inventa fuerit signinis operibus parietes struantur*), which is exactly what you do not want in a well, as it might stop up the vein. Hence Pliny says (*N. H.* 31, 49) *cum ad aquam ventum est, sine harenato opus surgit ne venae obstruantur*. He does not permit the use even of sandmortar in his wall. Rose's reference to Palladius (9, 9, 2: *latera puteorum structura suspecta*) is to the point; for the object of the wall is merely to prevent the well from falling in.

8, 6, 14 and 15 (211, 7-23): *Sin autem loca dura . . . et extenuari.*

These two sections are entirely devoted to an account of cisterns for the storage of water. Vitruvius finished his treatment of wells with the words at the end of section 13, which I have just cited in the preceding note. Pliny (also cited above) stops at the same point, passing immediately to the temperature of well water and saying nothing about cisterns until considerably later in his work (36, 173), where he summarizes in two sentences what Vitruvius takes two sections to tell. On the other hand, in Faventinus (291, 25-292, 7) and Palladius (9, 9, 2:

quae structura . . . 3, salis admixtione corrigetur) we find applied to wells what Vitruvius has said about cisterns. This is, I think, because Faventinus (whom Palladius followed) in epitomizing Vitruvius took *fossa* in 211, 14 as applying to a well, since Vitruvius had used the verb *fodere* and the substantive *fossio* each twice in connection with wells in section 12 (210, 19; 20; 27; 28). Rose, also, in the critical note in his second edition refers *fossa* in 211, 14 to wells. But I believe that this *fossa* denotes the excavation or trench made as the first step before constructing cistern walls of 'signinum work'; cf. the use of *foditur* in 171, 14, where an excavation is made before laying the paved floor of a triclinium. Hence, with the word *eorum* in *eorum fossa ad libramentum altitudinis quod est futurum calcetur vectibus ligneis ferratis* (211, 14), Vitruvius points us back to *signinis operibus* (211, 9), and the sentence means: 'the trench for the signinum work down to the level of the proposed depth <of the cistern>, should be beaten with wooden beetles covered with iron.' This beating process is preliminary to the application of the signinum work (cf. a similar preliminary beating before the laying of the pavement of the aforesaid triclinium: 171, 15, *solo festucato inducitur aut rudus aut testaceum pavimentum*); then with the words *parietibus calcatis* (211, 15), Vitruvius, assuming in his provoking way that the walls of signinum work are already built, says that these walls must themselves undergo a beating. (So, too, must the pavement of the triclinium in 171, 17, *congestis et spisse calcatis*, etc.). With this explanation, there is no need of assuming, with Rose and others, a lacuna before *eorum*; and Degering has already remarked that there is none, as Rose thought, after *fuert* in 211, 18 (cf. *Berl. Phil. Woch.* XX, 1900, p. 13). The fact is that we should not fancy that every statement in Faventinus was based upon something which stood in Vitruvius before there were any lacunae in his text. It is often forgotten that Faventinus at the very opening of his work says himself that Vitruvius is not his only source. And consider, for example, his statement that some say that there are twelve winds (not eight as in Vitruvius), and his description of the bronze triton in Rome that served as a weather cock, imitated from the triton in Athens described by Vitruvius (cf. Fav. 289, 1 ff.; Vit. 25, 3 ff.). Returning, therefore, to our passage, we find Faventinus unnecessarily giving proper dimensions for a well (292, 1; followed by Palladius 9, 9, 2), though Vitruvius and

Pliny (31, 49) say nothing on this detail; and in 292, 13 ff. Faventinus (cf. Pallad. 9, 9, 3) suggests the propping up of the sides of wells with transverse beams during the digging, a point on which Vitruvius and Pliny are both silent. Again in 292, 8, Faventinus remarks that while the *auctores* prefer to mix their sand for signinum work in the proportions of five parts of sand to two of lime (which are the proportions actually given by Vitruvius 211, 13, and Pliny 36, 173), it has been found better to make the mixture in the proportion of two to one. On the other hand, the clearing basins recommended for cisterns by Vitruvius (211, 18 ff.) and Pliny (36, 173) are naturally omitted by Faventinus (and by Palladius after him), for of course he could find no place for them in the 'well' which he thought that Vitruvius was describing! The two sections which we have been considering may be translated as follows, remembering that they are immediately preceded by two sections on wells: 'But if the ground is hard or if the veins lie too deep, the water supply must be obtained from roofs or higher ground and collected in <cisterns of> signinum work. Signinum work is made as follows. In the first place, procure the cleanest and sharpest sand, break up lava into bits of not more than a pound in weight, and mix the sand in a mortar trough with the strongest lime in the proportion of five parts of sand to two of lime. The trench for the signinum work, down to the level of the proposed depth <of the cistern> should be beaten with wooden beetles covered with iron. Then after having beaten the walls, let all the earth between them be cleared out to a level with the very bottom of the walls. Having evened this off, let the ground be beaten to the proper density. If such constructions are in two compartments or in three so as to insure clearing by changing from one to another, they will make the water much more wholesome to use. For it will become more limpid and keep its taste without any smell, if the mud has somewhere to settle; otherwise it will be necessary to clear it by adding salt.'

10, 1, 4 (245, 9): *et ita quae animadverterunt ad usum utilia esse studiis artibus institutis, gradatim augenda doctrinis curaverunt.*

Instead of *artibus*, Rose² substitutes *artium*, an unnecessary change, which would apparently give an ablative absolute in *studiis artium institutis*, 'they began to study the rules of it.' But have we not here three datives with *ad usum utilia*? The meaning would then be: 'and so

whatever they found to be practically useful to investigations, to the arts, and to established practices, they took care to improve step by step on scientific principles.' With *ad usum utilia*, cf. 171, 13, *ad hibernaculorum usum . . . utilis*; and for the dative with *ad usum* (accompanied not by *utilis*, but by a different adjective), cf. 37, 31, *aptas ad usum copias aedificiis*, and 177, 23, *id autem multis rebus est ad usum expeditum*. For *studia* in the sense of 'investigations,' cf. 233, 5 and perhaps 127, 11; for *instituta*, 'practices,' cf. 151, 18 and 174, 25.

10, 2, 14 (251, 18): *pecuniam contricavit*.

This phrase is used of the unfortunate individual who took a contract to quarry and transport a new pedestal for a statue of Apollo and tried to transport the huge stone from the quarries by a method of his own. In the course of it, *pecuniam contricavit ut ad solvendum non esset*. The manuscripts all have *contricavit* (a verb which has not been found elsewhere in Latin), but the editio princeps and all subsequent editions have *contrivit*. Vitruvius uses the verb *conterere* elsewhere three times, but never in a metaphorical sense, so that the emendation is not in itself attractive. And it is quite unnecessary, for the substantives *tricae* and *trico* as well as the verb *tricari* and compounds of *tricare* are all found in contexts in which financial matters are under consideration. See for instance Marx's note on Lucilius 11, 413-417; Cic. *Att.* 15, 13, 5; and particularly the accusative construction used with *extricare* (as here with *contricare*) in Hor. *Sat.* 1, 3, 88, *mercedem aut nummos unde unde extricat*, wherein is described a result which is the opposite of that which we find in our passage. Lindsay in his *Latin Language*, p. 58, says: 'the word *tricae*, whose origin has been traced to S. Italy, where the word was applied to hair-shackles put on the legs of fowls to prevent their straying,' etc. (see Nonius, s. v. 8, 11 ff.). In Vitruvius, therefore, we see that the unlucky contractor 'tied up his money' in his unsuccessful operations, or as we should say 'fell into financial embarrassment.' In this sense *conturbare* is not uncommon; see the *Thesaurus*, s. v. 808, 6-20; also Oudendorp's Suetonius, 1, p. 227, where he speaks with doubt of the adoption of the reading *contrivit* in Vitruvius. Of the phrase *ut ad solvendum non esset* (251, 18) I have already spoken in my *Language of Vitruvius*, p. 485.

But there I had no occasion to say anything on the name of the person about whom Vitruvius tells this story. In the earlier editions it appeared as Paconius, but, beginning with Schneider, all editors have since followed Oudendorp's correction (*l. c.*) to Paeonius. The name occurs three times in the anecdote. Twice the best manuscripts agree upon Paconius (251, 6 and 8), and once upon Paeonius (251, 17), though here the corrector of cod. G restored the former name. As the event described is attributed by Vitruvius to his own times (*nostra memoria*, 251, 3; cf. my remarks in *Harvard Studies in Cl. Phil.* XI, pp. 11 f.), there can be no question here of the Greek *architect* Paeonius (161, 7 and 9), who lived much earlier. Moreover, our passage (251, 5) shows that we have here a mere contractor: *locaverunt ex eisdem lapidicinis basim excidendam. Conduxit quidam Paconius*. With this cf. Vell. Pat. 1, 13, 4, *Mummius tam rudis fuit ut capta Corintho, cum . . . tabulas ac statuas in Italiam portandas locaret, iuberet praedicti conducentibus*, etc. Our contractor may well have been a Roman, not a Greek at all; or he may have been a nondescript character like his namesake who is stigmatized by Cicero: *Paconi nescio cuius, hominis ne Graeci quidem ac Mysi aut Phrygis potius* (*Q. F.* 1, 1, 19). Let us therefore read *Paconius*, with the weight of manuscript authority, throughout the anecdote.

10, 3, 4 (253, 23): *paulo et inpari pondere amplissimam pensionem parem perficit per scapi librationem examinatio*.

This passage may be rendered: 'a small and inferior weight becomes equal to a very heavy object that is being weighed, on account of the equilibrium that is due to the levelling of the beam.' Here *pensionem* does not signify a 'weight' used as a counterpoise (as it does in 269, 12), for the counterpoise is here denoted by *pondere*. In this latter word we perhaps have an instance of the somewhat rare use of the ablative with *par*, a construction noted by Schmalz (*Lat. Gramm.*³, p. 254) as found in Plautus, Cicero, Sallust, and Ovid. Vitruvius does not use the construction elsewhere; he has the dative twice (26, 2; 28, 23) and the ordinary ablative of measure once (149, 19). Generally he employs *par* to modify a substantive in the ablative of quality (see Nohl's *Index*).

10, 3, 5 (254, 1 ff.): *quemadmodum etiam navis onerariae maximae gubernator ansam gubernaculi tenens, qui οαξ a Graecis appellatur, una manu momento per centrum pressionibus ratione artis agitans, versat eam amplissimis et inmanibus mercis et penus ponderibus oneratam.*

In this passage the manuscripts have *per centrum ratione pressionibus*, but the order of the last two of these words was corrected by Schneider and his change has won general acceptance. Torr, however, in his excellent book on *Ancient Ships* (p. 76) reads *per centri librationem pressionibus*, apparently not observing that the manuscripts have *centrum*, and accounting for his change of *rationem* (which accusative he seems to think is found in the manuscripts) to *librationem* by referring to *per scapi librationem* in Vitruvius's preceding problem on the steelyard (253, 23). But the parallel is not a just one. In the steelyard the beam (*scapus*) can be brought to a level, but how can a *centre* be so brought? Next, Torr takes *artis* as coming from the adjective *artus* and makes it agree with *pressionibus*, which is for two reasons an unfortunate interpretation: first, because Vitruvius never elsewhere uses this adjective; and secondly, because the whole point is that the pilot is not obliged to exert a *severe* pressure in order to turn the ship. The source of the problem lies, as Torr notes, in Aristotle (*Mechan.* 6; cf. Schmidt's Heron, 1, p. xviii f.), and Aristotle says: ὑπὸ μικροῦ οἴακος καὶ ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου δυνάμεως, καὶ ταύτης ἡρεμαίας. In Vitruvius, therefore, *artis* is from *ars*, and *ratione artis* refers to the rules of the art of steering. The whole passage may be rendered thus: 'So, too, the pilot of the biggest merchantman, grasping the steering oar by its handle (which the Greeks call οαξ) and with one hand bringing it to the turning point, according to the rules of his art, by pressure about a centre, can turn the ship although she may be laden with a very large or even an enormous burden of merchandise and provisions.' It may be added that both Aristotle and Vitruvius in this problem distinguish between the steering oar (πηδάλιον, *gubernaculum*) and its handle (οαξ, *ansa*); also that *momento*, as in Vitruvius's preceding problem on the steelyard (253, 25) means 'turn of the scale,' 'turning point' (cf. Schmidt's Heron, 2, p. 382 ff.).

10, 3, 9 (255, 19 ff.): *tunc vero etiam plostra raedae tympana molae coeleae scorpiones ballistae prela ceteraque machinae isdem*

rationibus per porrectum centrum et rotationem circini versando faciunt ad propositum effectus.

These words, with which Vitruvius concludes his chapter on the Elements of Motion, may thus be translated: 'so also farm wagons, travelling carriages, drums, mills, screws, scorpiones, ballistae, press-beams, and all other machines produce the results intended on the same principles, by turning about a rectilinear axis and by the revolution of a circle.' To understand how Vitruvius comes to use *per porrectum centrum* to signify 'by turning about a rectilinear axis,' we must go back to the beginning of the chapter. In the first section of it, he states that the right line (*porrectum*, 252, 12) and the circle (*rotunditas*, 252, 13) are the elements of motion in hoisting machines (which he has been describing in his preceding chapter). Then, in the second section, in which he is still speaking of these machines, we have the words *inducuntur uti centra axiculi* (252, 16), where the axles of sheaves in blocks are regarded as centres, and of course these axles are 'inserted' in right lines, though he does not say so. Then, in *cuius suculae cardines uti centra porrecti in cheloniis* (252, 20), the pivots or ends of a windlass are regarded as centres: they 'lie as centres in right lines in its socket pieces.' Further, in *supposita uti centro porrecta pressione* (252, 25), the fulcrum (*pressione*) of an iron lever is said to 'lie as a centre in a right line under the lever' (i. e. transversely under it). Next, in *ab ea pressione quod est centrum* (253, 3), the fulcrum of a lever is said to be the 'centre.' Passing over his exemplifications of these principles in the cases of steelyards, steering and other oars, sails, porters' poles, and yokes for oxen, we approach the end of the chapter, where in *ad centrum porrectionibus et circinationibus* (255, 18) it is stated that, in the case of poles and yokes, motion is obtained 'by right lines at the centre and by circles'; here the phrase 'by right lines at the centre' denotes what corresponds to the 'axle' in the case of sheaves in blocks. Hence, in the last words of the chapter, which I have quoted at the beginning of this note, *porrectum centrum* is the rectilinear axle of a vehicle, mill, or the like; and the 'circle which revolves' (*rotationem circini*) is, for example, the wheel of a vehicle. For Vitruvius is thinking of 'the centre' not in a mathematical sense, but as an axle or fulcrum. In the explanation of this passage, I have been much assisted by my friend, Professor W. E. Byerly.

10, 6, 4 (259, 13): *in extremo libro eius forma descripta est in ipso tempore.*

The figure here indicated was at the end of the book (*in extremo libro*), and Voss, cited by Schneider, long ago observed that in the additional phrase *in ipso tempore*, the word *tempus* (in its sense of 'temple') seemed to be equivalent to κρόταφος as applied to a part of a book in a passage quoted and explained by Suidas from an unknown author. Suidas says: Κρόταφος τὸ μέρος τοῦ σώματος, καὶ τοῦ βιβλίου τὸ ὀπισθεν μέρος. "κατὰ τὸν κρόταφον τῆς βίβλου ἐμβαλόντες ἐκμαρτύριον διὰ τίνος ἐσχηματισμένου τὴν τέχνην τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα γραφόντων." The definition of Suidas, however, seems at first thought to give us nothing more than a repetition of *in extremo libro*, but obviously in Vitruvius *in ipso tempore* must add something new to that idea. Consequently it is taken to mean 'on the back' (Marini, Reber), that is, on the reverse of the papyrus. And when we remember the use of the adjective *opisthographus* (e.g. in Pliny, *Ep.* 3, 5, 17 *commentarios opisthographos quidem et minutissime scriptos*; cf. Lucian, *Vit. Auct.* 9), and of the substantive *tergum* (e.g. Juv. 1, 6 *in tergo necdum finitus Orestes*), it becomes probable that this was what both Vitruvius and Suidas meant. Rose in his first edition suggested the emendation *tergore*, but abandoned it in his second, as well he might. The words κρόταφος and *tempus* have not been found elsewhere in this sense. But I have observed a usage of κρόταφος in Heron which bears some resemblance to it. When one finished reading an ancient book, the beginning of it would have become rolled up inside, and the end would form the outside of the roll. Anything written on the back at the end would therefore be on the periphery of the roll. Now Heron, in the mechanism for his automatic dancing Bacchae, provides a ring fitting about a round stylobate, and adds: περὶ δὲ τὸν κρόταφον τῆς περιφερείας ἐντετορνέυσθω σωλήν, ἐν ᾧ σπάρτος κτλ. (1, p. 394, Schmidt), 'round the outer rim (κρόταφον) of the periphery a well turned groove, in which a cord, etc.' Here, then, κρόταφος is used of the outside of a ring somewhat as the unknown author in Suidas used it of the outside of a roll. I may also remark that in the Arabic version from Philon Byzantius, published by C. de Vaux (*Notices et Extraits*, XXXVIII, 1, 1903, p. 133), is an expression signifying that the figure accompanying the description is 'on the back,' though of course this

figure may possibly not have been placed in a corresponding position in the Greek ms. which the Arabian scribe was rendering. But, it may be asked, how could Vitruvius, while writing the sixth chapter of this book, know that lack of space at the end of the roll (ten chapters follow) would oblige him to put his figure of the water screw on the back? Of course he could not know it, and I believe he added the words *in ipso tempore* to the end of the sentence (where they are rather out of place) after he had finished his book and found that the figure had to be drawn on the back of the roll. I am also inclined to think that he had originally written *descripta erit*, and that he changed *erit* to *est* after he had drawn the figure on the back. For in every other passage where he uses a verb to state the position of one of his figures, he employs the future tense: cf. 75, 8 *in extremo libro erit forma subscripta*; 77, 4 *in extremo libro forma erit descripta*; 80, 4 *in extremo libro forma erit subscripta*; 110, 21 *diagramma subscribam*; 206, 20 *exemplar chorobatae erit in extremo volumine descriptum*; 214, 4 *uti schema subscriptum erit in ima pagina*; 215, 7 *eius rei erit subscripta forma*. The exceptions are only apparent, not real. There are only two of them: 28, 13 *visum est mihi in extremo volumine formas duo explicare*, where *visum est* signifies his intention, not that the figure had already been drawn, and 116, 2, where by *in extremo libro diagramma musica ratione designatum* he means the same *diagramma* that he had promised in 110, 21 to append to his work. If I am right in attributing to Vitruvius a later addition of *in ipso tempore* and a change of *erit* to *est*, may not these alterations, made naturally in the margin of his manuscript, be the ultimate source of the corruption in our manuscripts four lines below, where the words *in illo tempore* (259, 18) are rejected by all critics?

10, 8, 4 (262, 8): *Haec regulae habent ferrea choragia fixa et iuncta cum pinnis, quarum pinnarum tactus motiones efficit regularum continenter.*

In this passage, which forms part of the description of the Water Organ, the word *regulae* denotes the 'sliders' which move back and forth, thus opening and closing the holes which lead to the pipes. The sentence means: 'These sliders have iron *choragia* fastened to them and connected with the keys, which keys when touched make the

sliders move back and forth regularly.' But what are *choragia*? The word is usually rendered 'springs'; for instance, by Rode, Reber, Galiani, and Newton in their translations of Vitruvius, and by Loret in his article on the organ in the *Revue Archéologique* (XV, 1890, p. 91), who is followed by Ruelle in Daremberg and Saglio (s. v. *hydraulus*, p. 314). This is because Heron, in the description of his organ (*Pneum.* 1, p. 200, 4 ff., ed. Schmidt), speaks of springs made of elastic horn, which by means of a cord draw the sliders automatically back into position when the hand is removed from the keys. Hence, Meister emended *choragia* to *chordagia*, and this is approved by Schneider in his Vitruvius (vol. 3, p. 327) and by Schmidt in his translation of Vitruvius on the organ, appended to the first volume of his Heron (p. 503). But in Vitruvius the *choragia* are said to be connected with the *keys*, while in Heron the springs are not connected with them, but communicate with the sliders by means of a cord; and in Vitruvius the word *fixa* cannot signify (according to his frequent usage of it elsewhere) communication by a cord. It must show that the *choragia* are directly fastened to the *regulae*. The *choragia*, therefore, play the part of Heron's ἀγκωνίσκος τρικῶλος (*Pneum.*, p. 198, 9), the surface of the upper joint of which apparently serves as what we call a 'key'; cf. ἀγκωνίσκια (p. 200, 16). But in Vitruvius the *choragia* are not a *part* of the keys (*pinnis*), but are 'connected with the keys.' It seems obvious, therefore, that the mechanism which is denoted in Vitruvius by *choragia* cannot be absolutely identified with any part of the organ as described by Heron, and indeed the two authors do not agree in their accounts of some other details of the instrument. Without here entering into the vexed question of the date of Heron (recently much discussed: see a review of the literature in Bursian's *Jahresbericht*, CXXIX, 1906, pp. 164 ff.), it is safe to say that he and Vitruvius had probably a common source, but that Vitruvius did not follow it very closely, choosing rather to describe the organ as he had seen it (cf. Degering, *Die Orgel*, pp. 38 ff.). With regard to *choragia* we can only say that it denotes the iron mechanism, of whatever sort, by which the key acted upon the slider; the principle of the oscillating lever, the rock-lever, the jointed lever, or of two arms turning upon a centre-pin may have been employed in it. But why was the word *choragia* applied to it? nobody knows. The easiest and safest course is to cry 'corrupt' and

to leave one's dagger beside the corpse; for perhaps one can scarcely venture to point to the very common use of *χορηγέω* in post classical Greek in the sense of 'minister,' 'serve,' 'be agent' (to say nothing of the Aristotelian use of *χορηγία* meaning 'assistance'), and proceed to suggest that perhaps *choragia* (*χορήγια*) somehow came in the language of mechanics to denote the 'agents' or as we might say 'conductors' by which the sliders communicated with the keys. This word 'conductors' happens to be employed by Chappell in his rendering of our passage in his *History of Music* (Vol. I, p. 355), a book, by the way, too little known and scarcely ever quoted (only by Ruelle) in writings on the ancient organ; yet in this book common sense combined with knowledge of music was for the first time (in 1874) applied to the subject. But perhaps if one must select an English word to stand in the place of this very doubtful *choragia*, Gwilt's word 'jack' is the best; for it is a general term still in use to denote the mechanism of any sort by which the keys are enabled to open and close the pipes of an organ.

10, 8, 4 (262, 12): *quibus lingulae omnium includuntur organorum.*

The word *lingula* (γλωττα) technically denotes the reed of the *tibia*; see Howard, *The αὐλός or tibia*, *Harv. Stud. in Cl. Phil.* IV, 21 ff. In our passage it will be safest to translate *lingulae* by 'reeds' instead of using the more general term 'mouthpieces.' In this same sentence Vitruvius uses *organorum* to denote 'organ pipes.' He has no occasion to speak of them elsewhere. Heron frequently calls them αὐλοί (*Pneum.* 1, p. 196, 4 ff., Schmidt), and it is odd that Vitruvius does not use the natural equivalent *tibiae* (cf. Tert. *de anima* 14, *organum hydraulicum dico: . . . tot acies tiliarum*); but for some reason he chooses the more general term applied to any musical instrument (cf. 9, 15; 110, 12; 112, 8; 136, 2 and 6), which is used also by Quintilian as a synonyme for *tibiae* (11, 3, 20 *ad fin.*), and long before by Aristotle as a synonyme for αὐλοί (*Pol.* 3, 1282 b, 34). Neither Vitruvius nor Heron says anything about the material of which the organ pipes were made. It is natural to suppose that in the earliest organs the pipes were made of joints of reed, like the *tibia* and *syrinx*. Whether metal organ pipes were already employed in the time of Vitruvius, it is

impossible to say. The first distinct allusion to bronze organ pipes appears in the Emperor Julian's epigram on the organ (*Anth. Pal.* 9, 365): ἀλλοίην ὁρώω δονάκων φύσιν· ἥ που ἀπ' ἄλλης, χαλκείης τάχα μᾶλλον ἀνεβλάστησαν ἀρούρης, ἄγριοι. For in the *carmen figuratum* of Publ. Optatianus (20b, ed. Müller), written about 325 A.D., the words *aere cavo et tereti* probably refer to the altar-shaped box (cf. Vitr. 261, 3) which held the *pnigeus*.

MAGISTRI SCRINIORUM, ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΗΣ, AND ΡΕΦΕΡΕΝΔΑΡΙΟΙ

BY J. B. BURY

IN his well known and masterly study on the administration of the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy, which appeared under the title *Ostgotische Studien* in the *Neues Archiv*, xiv (1888), Mommsen identifies the *referendarii* who meet us in documents of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. with the officials who were called ἀντιγραφήs, and both with the *magistri scriniorum*. He has overlooked the difficulties which lie in the way of this conclusion.

There seems to be clear proof that the *magistri sacrorum scriniorum* were known as οἱ ἀντιγραφήс. But before bringing forward the evidence, it is necessary to say a word about the *sacra scrinia*. In the *Notitia Dignitatum* (*Or.* xi, 13–16, ed. Seeck) we find four *scrinia* “under the disposition,” as the phrase was, of the Master of Offices. These are: *memoriae*, *epistularum*, *libellorum*, and *dispositionum*. We find these four often associated together in imperial laws as *sacra scrinia nostra*, or *scrinia palatii*.¹ But the *scrinium dispositionum* stands apart from the others; its functions were not homogeneous with them. Its principal business seems to have been to draw up the programme of the Emperor’s daily work and make corresponding arrangements. The chief official in this bureau was the *comes dispositionum*, the chief officials in the three others were *proximi*.² The functions of the *scrinia memoriae*, *epistularum*, *libellorum* were closely related, and so we find them associated together as the three *scrinia*.³ It is these alone which concern us. It was from these that the *quaestor* drew his assistants (*adiutores quos voluerit*).⁴ In each of these *scrinia* there was (1) a

¹ See *C. I.* 12, 19, 1; 3; 4; 11; cf. *C. Th.* 6, 26.

² *C. I.* 12, 19, 8.

³ *C. Th.* 6, 26, 17 in tribus s. memoriae epistularum libellorumque (cf. *ib.* 4; 17); *C. I.* 12, 19, 5; *ib.* 13 in s. sacrae mem. — in duobus reliquis s., id est sac. epp. sacrorumque libb.; *ib.* 15; Nov. 27 (ed. Zach. = vulg. 35).

⁴ Not. Dig., *Or.* xii, 6.

proximus, (2) a *melloproximus*, (3) *exceptores*, or shorthand writers, and (4) respectively *memoriales*, *epistolares*, and *libellenses*.¹

While these bureaux were controlled by the Master of Offices, they supplied assistant officials not only to the quaestor, but to the dignitaries known as *magistri scriniorum*, who had the rank of *spectabiles*,² and whose functions were closely connected with those of the quaestor. The *magistri* appear as independent officials in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, subordinate only to the Emperor himself. There were four in number: *memoriae*, *epistularum*, *libellorum*, and *epistularum Graecarum*, and they were furnished with *adiutores electi* from the three *scrinia*.³ It is obvious that the *scr. epp.* supplied both the *mag. epp.* and the *mag. epp. Graec.*; there was no special *scrinium* for *epistulae Graecae*. For an account of the functions of the *magistri* I may refer to Karlowa.⁴ The *magister memoriae* drafted and issued imperial decisions (*adnotationes* made on the margins of documents), and answered *preces* (evidently in writing). The *magister epistularum* dealt with answers to legations of foreign powers and deputations from the provinces; he examined the questions (*consultationes*) addressed to the government by officials; and he also dealt with *preces* (probably such as were connected with his other duties). The *magister libellorum* dealt chiefly with *cognitiones* or appeal cases. Letters which had to be written in Greek or translated into Greek were the province of the *magister epistularum Graecarum*. It will be readily seen that the functions of the *mag. mem.* and *libb.* connected their work closely with that of the quaestor, while those of the *mag. epp.* brought him into contact with the quaestor so far as he dealt with *preces*, but otherwise associated him closely with the Master of Offices.

To prove that *ἀντιγραφεύς*⁵ was used to designate a *magister scrinii*, Mommsen⁶ adduces the following texts. (1) Suidas, s. v. Ἀδριανός: καὶ ἀντιγραφεὺς τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ὑπὸ Κομμόδου ἐγένετο. Here the imperial

¹ For these officials, cf. *C. I.* 12, 19, 1; 5; 10. In the *s. mem.* there were also *laterculenses*, the officials who prepared the *minus laterculum*. *Ib.* 13; 15.

² Cf. *C. I.* 12, 9, 1: 1, 23, 7.

³ Not. Dig., *Or.* xix. The order in which the *magistri* are named in the Not. (and generally in the laws) is the order of precedence; cf. *C. I. L.* 6, 510.

⁴ *Römische Rechtsgeschichte*, I (1885), 834 sq.

⁵ Ioannes Lydus (iii, 27, p. 115, ed. Wünsch) says that *ἀντιγραφεὺς* is Greek for the old *antecessor*.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, 482.

ab epistulis is meant. But this text only illustrates, it does not strictly prove, the use of the Greek term for the later *mag. ep̄p̄*. (2) Peter the Patrician (fr. 14, in Müller, *F. H. G.* iv, 189) records that Diocletian and Galerius, meeting at Nisibis, sent Sicorius Probus, ἀντιγραφέα τῆς μνήμης, as envoy to Persia. Probus was evidently the *magister memoriae* of one of the Emperors. (3) Philostorgios (xi, 2) designates the tyrant Eugenios as μάγιστρον τὴν ἀσίαν, while Theophanes (*A. M.* 5882, p. 71, ed. De Boor) describes him as ὁ ἀπὸ γραμματικῶν ἀντιγραφεὺς.

To these passages may be added in illustration: (4) John Malalas (494, ed. Bonn.) συγκαθημένων αὐτῷ (sc. τῷ ἐπάρχῳ τῆς πόλεως) καὶ συνεξεταζόντων Κωνσταντίνου κοιαίστωρος καὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ ἀντιγραφέως, καὶ Ζηνοδώρου ἀσεκρήτις ἐκλαμβάνοντος¹ τὰς αὐτῶν ἀποκρίσεις. Here Julian, who assists the Prefect of the City and the Quaestor in a trial for high treason, is doubtless the *magister memoriae*. (5) Peter Patricius (fr. 46, *F. H. G.* iv, 248): Ἀστέριος εἰς τῶν βασιλείων διαιτητῶν οὓς δὲ ἀντιγραφέας ἀποκαλέσους. (6) In the *Ecloga* of Leo III and Constantine V (p. 2, ed. Monferratus) the ἀντιγραφῆς are closely associated with the quaestor: τὸν τε ἐνδοξώτατον κοιαίστωρα καὶ τοὺς ἐνδοξωτάτους ὑπάτους καὶ ἀντιγραφεῖς (*sic*). (7) Probably in the eighth century and certainly in the ninth, the ἀντιγραφῆς are in the officium of the quaestor.²

From all this evidence it seems quite clear that ἀντιγραφῆς was used to designate the *magistri sacrarum scriniarum*.

Referendarii meet us in documents of the fifth century,³ but it is only in texts of the sixth century that we find much about their functions. The following passages are the most important:

Procopius, *B. P.* 2, 23 (p. 256-7, ed. Haury): Θεόδωρον ἐκέλευε τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι (sc. to see to the burying of those who died of the plague), ὃς δὲ ἀποκρίσει ταῖς βασιλικαῖς ἐφειστήκει, αἰὲν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰς τῶν ἱκετῶν δεήσεις ἀγγέλλων σημαίνων τε αὐθις ὅσα ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη. ῥεφερενδάριον τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ τὴν τιμὴν αὐτὴν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι.

¹ ἐκλαμβάνειν = *excipere*, take down in shorthand.

² Philotheos, *Kletorologion*, ap. Const. Porph., *De Cer.*, p. 718, ed. Bonn.

³ One of the earliest mentions of a *ref.* is in the correspondence of S. Nilus (beginning of fifth century), who addresses letters Ῥακίνθῳ ῥαιφερενδάρῳ, iii, 83, 84 in Migne, *P. G.* 79.

Procopius, *H. A.* 14 (p. 92, ed. Haury) : τοῖς δὲ ρεφερενδαρίοις καλουμένοις οὐκέτι ἀπέχρη ἀνενεγκεῖν εἰς τὸν βασιλέα τὰς τῶν ἱκετευνόντων δεήσεις, ἐς δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀναγγεῖλαι μόνον ἥπερ εἴωθει ὃ τι ἂν αὐτῷ ἀμφὶ τῷ ἱκέτῃ δοκῇ, ἀλλὰ ξυμφορήσαντες ἐκ πάντων ἀνθρώπων τὸν ἀδικὸν λόγον φενακισμοῖς μὲν τὸν Ἰουστινιανὸν καὶ παραγωγοῖς τισιν ἐξηπάτων.

C. I. 1, 15, 2, a law of Justin and Justinian (527 A.D.) : ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸν ἐνδοξότατον κοιαίστωρα τοῦ παλατίου καὶ τοὺς περιβλέπτους ρεφερενδαρίους τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐσεβείας ὀρθῶς τὴν ἄγραφον ἡμῶν θεῖαν κέλευσιν τὴν γενομένην ἐπὶ τοῖς προσιοῦσιν καὶ δικαστὴν ἥτοι συνδικαστὴν αἰτοῦσιν ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν εἰς δίκας τεινόντων διὰ καταθέσεως παρασκευάζειν γενέσθαι φανεράν· ἐπὶ τούτῳ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μόνῳ τὴν τῆς ἀγράφου κελεύσεως μνήμην γίνεσθαι συγχωροῦμεν.

Justinian, *Nov.* 153 (= vulg. 124), p. 291, ed. Zachariä : on the same subject (545 A.D.) : ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς περιβλέπτους ρεφερενδαρίους τὰς ἡμετέρας κελεύσεις κατὰ τὸ προσήκον ποιεῖν φανεράς, τὸν αὐτὸν νόμον βεβαιοῦντες κελεύομεν τοὺς περιβλέπτους ρεφερενδαρίους ἐπὶ ταῖς αἰτιάσις αἷς διδάσκουσιν ἥτοι ἀναφέρουσι πρὸς τὴν ἡμέτεραν γαληνότητα μηδεμίαν ἔχειν ἀδειαν, ἢ αὐτοὺς ἢ τοὺς αὐτῶν βοηθοὺς . . . κρατεῖν τινα κ.τ.λ.

Justinian, *Nov.* 134 (= vulg. 113), p. 176 sq., ed. Zach. : an ordinance forbidding interruptions or postponements in judicial trials on the pretext of imperial mandates delivered by *referendarii* (541 A.D.) : θεσπίζομεν ὥστε δίκης ἐξεταζομένης . . . παρὰ δικασταῖς, εἴτε ἐνταῦθα εἴτε ἐν ἐπαρχαίαις, μήτε πραγματικὸν τύπον μήτε ἑτέραν ἀντιγραφὴν μήτε θεῖαν ἡμῶν τινα ἔγγραφον ἢ ἄγραφον κέλευσιν ἢ κατάθεσιν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ βασιλίδι πόλει παρὰ τῶν περιβλέπτων ἡμῶν ρεφερενδαρίων ἢ ἑτέρου τινός, διατυποῦσαν αὐτοῖς ὅπως δέοι τὴν ἀρχθεύσαν ἐξετάζειν ἢ κρίνειν ὑπόθεσιν καταφανῇ γίνεσθαι τοῖς δικάζουσιν ἢ καταφανῇ γινομένην κρατεῖν.

Cassiodorus, *Var.* vi, 17, p. 189, ed. Mommsen : *Formula referendariorum* : per eum nobis causarum ordines exponuntur, per eum interpellantium vota cognoscimus et ipsis responsa reddimus, ut negotia compedita solvamus. . . . sententiae vero nostrae tanta memoriae cautela tenendae sunt ut nihil minus nihil additum esse videatur, etc.

Cassiodorus, *Var.* v, 41, p. 167, ed. Mommsen. This letter addressed to the Senate of Rome announces the elevation of Cyprian to the post

of *comes sacrarum largitionum*. We know from Anon. Val. 14, 85 that Cyprian had been previously a *referendarius*, and can infer that the eulogy of him in this letter relates to his merits in that capacity. He used to accompany Theodoric on his rides and lay cases before him : tunc nobis causas multiplices relator delectabilis ingerebat eratque eius infastidita suggestio sub iudicis animo taedioso. Ita dum causas praestandi benignus artifex ingerebat, reficiebatur animus beneficiorum aviditate succensus.

From these passages it is evident that the *referendarii* exercised functions in the same sphere as the *magistri scriniarum*, at least as the *mag. mem.* and *mag. libb.*, and perhaps as the *mag. epp.* so far as he was concerned with *preces*. It was their duty to report petitions to the Emperor, to transmit the imperial answers to the officials concerned, to convey unwritten *κελεύσεις* or *mandata* of the Emperor to judges (both in the capital and the provinces), certifying them by a deposition (*κατάθεσις*).

In the Ostrogothic kingdom a *referendarius* might be a confidential adviser of the king, as appears from the case of Cyprian. Under this régime there seem to have been no *magistri scriniarum*. The title *magister scrinii* seems only to have been used as an honorary title conferred on the *comitiacus* (Cass. *Var.* vi, 13), who was the chief of the *agentes in rebus*. It would seem therefore that the duties of the *magistri* must have devolved entirely on the bureau of the quaestor.

On the ground of similarity of functions Mommsen has simply identified the *referendarii* with the *magistri scriniarum* or ἀντιγραφῆς. But there are very serious objections to this conclusion.

I pass over the consideration that it would be odd if the same officials were at one time called ἀντιγραφῆς, at another ῥεφερενδάριοι in the Greek constitutions of the sixth century. But it is very difficult to believe that a *magister* of one of the *scrinia* would have been described as *referendarius* in a law of 427 A.D. (*C. I.* 1, 50, 2) : mandata impp. Theodosii et Valentiniani AA. missa ad Antiochum pp. per referendarium. Nor is it easy to conceive that it could have devolved on the three or four *magistri* to be themselves the bearers of the imperial decisions to their destinations. This brings us to the fact that the *referendarii* were far more numerous than the *magistri*.

From a Novel of Justinian of 535 A.D. (18 Zach. = 10 vulg.) we learn that in that year there were fourteen *ῥεφερενδάριοι*.¹ The Emperor directs that vacancies are not to be filled up till the number falls to eight. Now the *scrinia* were not increased in number, as we know from a constitution of the same year.² It seems therefore, on the face of it, unlikely that the *magistri* had been increased in number.

But we have a clear distinction drawn between the *ἀντιγραφῆς* and the *ῥεφερενδάριοι* in a law of Leo I (473 A.D.). *C. I.* 4, 59, 1: οὐδὲ τὸν κατὰ καιρὸν μεγαλοπρεπέστατον κναίστορα ἢ τοὺς ἄλλους ἄρχοντας τοῦ θείου παλατίου ἢ τοὺς περιβλέπτους ἀντιγραφέας ἢ τὸν περίβλεπτον σεκουνδοκῆριον ἢ τερτιοκῆριον τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων ἢ τοὺς κατὰ καιρὸν περιβλέπτους *ῥεφερενδαρίους*. Here both these officials are enumerated in a way which precludes their identity.

Further light is thrown on the *referendarii* by a sixth-century text which escaped the notice of Mommsen. This text is preserved in the *De Ceremoniis* of Constantine Porphyrogenetos (i, c. 86, p. 390, ed. Bonn.), and is almost certainly taken from the *Κατάστασις* of Peter the Patrician, the same book from which the two preceding chapters are transcribed. From this document we learn that the *ῥεφερενδάριος* was appointed from among the *tribuni notariorum*, by a simple imperial mandate (ἀπὸ ψιλῶν μανδάτων), communicated by the Praepositus. Two of the *referendarii* received salaries as such, the others were unpaid in the capacity of *referendarii*, but continued to be *tribuni notariorum*,³ and were paid as such. The Empress Theodora had a (paid) *referendarius*, and after her death Justinian transferred him to his own service.

This important passage supplies further proof that the *referendarii* cannot be identified with the *ἀντιγραφῆς*. The mode of their appointment contrasts with the ceremony observed in the case of the *ἀντιγραφεύς*, and although this ceremony is known from a passage which relates to the usage of the ninth and tenth centuries (*De Cer.* i, c. 79), it illustrates the different position and different history of the office. The intervention of the Praepositus points to the fact that the *referendarii* were personal servants of the Emperor, in a sense which would not be

¹ εἰς τεσσαρεσκαίδέκατον ὁ τούτων ἀριθμὸς ἐξέβη.

² Nov. 27 Zach. = 35 vulg.

³ τριβούνοι νοτάριοι πραιτωριανοὶ πουνκτάριοι. Cf. Justinian, Nov. 38 (= vulg. 13), p. 226: τῶν λαμπροτάτων τριβούνων πραιτωριανῶν καὶ νοταρίων.

true of the *magister scriniorum*. The circumstance that Theodora had a *referendarius* of her own confirms this conclusion. Further there is no evidence or probability that any of the *magistri* were at the same time *tribuni notarii*. The close connection of the *referendarii* with the *tribuni notarii* is illustrated by the presence of ὁ περιβλεπτος τριβούνος καὶ ῥεφερενδάριος at the Council of Chalcedon (Mansi, *Conc.* 6, 757, 761, 821). Similarly a *tribunus notarius et ref.* is in attendance at the Fifth General Council at Constantinople (*ib.* 8, 879).

Another point should be noted. The Novel of Justinian (18, cited above) limiting the number of the *referendarii* is addressed to Hermogenes, the Master of Offices. Mommsen mentions the fact as telling in his favor, since the *sacra scrinia* were *sub dispositione magistri officiorum*. But it rather makes against his view. For the Notitia shows that though the *scrinia* were under the Master of Offices, the *magistri* were not. They were not the heads of the *scrinia*; the *scrinia* supplied them with *adiutores*.

The conclusion is that the *referendarii* were quite distinct from the *magistri sacrorum scriniorum* or ἀντιγραφῆς. The latter drafted in legal form the imperial decisions, prepared appeal cases, etc.; especially the *magister memoriae* coöperated with the quaestor in drafting laws. The *referendarii*, who might be described as legal secretaries of the Emperor, were probably employed in communications between the Emperor and the *magistri*, to whom they imparted the Emperor's decisions; they acted as bearers of the unwritten answers of the Emperor, in judicial matters, to the persons concerned; and they might be employed on various special missions.¹ From the nature of the case they might possess much influence on the imperial decisions.

In later times the imperial ῥεφερενδάριοι disappear. When a ῥεφερενδάριος is mentioned in Byzantine documents later than the seventh century, the reference is to the ῥεφερενδάριος of the Patriarch.²

¹ Cf. Chron. Pasch. (*sub* 363 A.D., p. 550, ed. Bonn.), where Julian sends a ῥεφ. to St. Dometios. Also Eustathios, *Vita Eutychii*, Migne, *P. G.* lxxvi (2), 2301.

² For instance in Constantine Porph., *De Cer.* i, 44, p. 225 (a document of 768 A.D.); also *ib.* pp. 29, 237, 240, 246. *Vita Euthymii*, ed. De Boor, xx, 6.

THREE *PUER*-SCENES IN PLAUTUS, AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF RÔLES

BY HENRY W. PRESCOTT

THE rule of three actors in the classical Greek drama has recently been severely tested. Such a restriction may well have been imposed upon managers of travelling troupes.¹ In the Roman comedies a larger number of actors is required, if our texts represent the acting versions of the plays. Ancient evidence, so far as it goes, is in accord with the requirements of the text. After sifting this external evidence, Schmidt² in 1870 arranged possible distributions of parts in the plays of Plautus and Terence; in his arrangements he considered almost exclusively coincident appearances of speaking characters upon the stage. Schmidt's results have been generally accepted as showing the practicability of producing the extant comedies with a small number of actors, varying from three to seven in the different plays. The opinion of conservative scholars, probably, finds expression in Hauler's comment on Dziatzko's cautious statement of the case (Ter. *Phormio*³, 34, n. 4): "Untersuchungen wie von Friedr. Schmidt . . . hält Dziatzko insofern für wertvoll, als dadurch festgestellt wird, mit wie vielen Personen ein Stück durchgeführt werden *konnte* Daraus auf eine feste Regel und etwaige Selbstbeschränkung der lateinischen Dichter bei Komposition ihrer Stücke zu schliessen, wagt er [Dziatzko] mit Recht nicht."³

¹ Rees, *The So-called Rule of Three Actors in the Classical Greek Drama*, 64 ff.

² *Ueber die Zahl der Schauspieler bei Plautus und Terenz und die Vertheilung der Rollen unter dieselben*, Erlangen, 1870. Recent discussions of the theme are limited to Terence, and particularly in connection with the *notae personarum*; for references cf. Dziatzko-Hauler, Ter. *Phormio*³, 34, n. 4.

³ This scepticism was less conservatively expressed in Lorenz's review of Schmidt (*Philol. Anz.* V [1873], 459 ff.), and by Steffen in *Acta Soc. Phil. Lips.* II, 114 ff. Their contention is that the whole question is invalidated by the fact that we cannot discriminate between the Greek original and the Roman adaptation. I think that it is quite proper to study our texts as they stand, and then discover if the scenes in question are demonstrably Greek or Roman. In the present case the conclusion may seem negative, but such evidence as there is seems to me to point to Roman sources for the three scenes under discussion. Cf. below, p. 36, n. 3; p. 39, n. 2; p. 45 and nn. 1, 3.

Audacious as it may be, the thought will occur to any student of the drama that plays produced by a limited number of actors may reveal in their composition the effects of this limitation, especially if the playwright is a craftsman of very moderate ability. And even a consummate artist may at times be forced to make concessions which his art cannot conceal. The consideration of the plays from this standpoint is not only not audacious, but essential to a proper appreciation of the question. The audacity consists in drawing conclusions from insufficient evidence, and this is all that Hauler means. Naturally students of the Greek drama have sought confirmation of the rule of three actors in the structure of the tragedies;¹ perhaps they have seen too much, but, granting the theory, their attitude was justifiable. Schmidt, on the contrary, makes no account of internal evidence in this sense of the term: he does quote *Poen.* 123, 126 (*ego ibo, ornabor; . . . ibo, alius nunc fieri volo*), but one of the two verses is probably the work of a *retractator*, and at best the passage proves only that the *prologus* did not require a separate actor; Schmidt also speculates (p. 9) as to what Plautus could not do—he could not present dramatically the joy of the wives in the *Stichus* over the return of their husbands, because two actors carried the four rôles, nor could he let the audience see the reconciliation of the father and the son in the *Bacchides*, if one actor played both parts; such speculation is of negative value, and tends to indulgence in idle fancies. What kind of internal evidence is available for our purpose?

On p. 13 Schmidt (accepting the rule of three actors for the Greek drama) remarks that the presence of the chorus in the classical tragedy and comedy facilitated change of rôles; in the later Greek drama, he adds, the chorus disappeared; more characters have to appear, “und so mehrere Zwischenscenen entstehen”; new actors appear in these “Zwischenscenen,” and the other actors have an opportunity to change rôles. We now know that the chorus did not entirely disappear from the later comedy, and perhaps traces of it survive even in Roman comedy,² but Schmidt’s statement of the case applies as an *a priori* description to our plays. A skilful dramatist, if limited to a few actors,

¹ Cf., for example, Elmsley in *Class. Jour.* VIII (1813), 433 ff.

² For survivals of the chorus, and substitutes for it, cf. Leo, *Der Monolog im Drama*, 43, 44; 44, nn. 1 and 2; 50, n. 6; 59, n. 2.

will so arrange his scenes as to provide for the shifting of rôles, and often without much difficulty. The ease with which it may be accomplished is clear enough, if Schmidt's thesis is accepted, from the comedies. In fact, a dramatist is so little hampered by the necessity of distributing a dozen rôles among half a dozen actors that internal conditions need seldom reveal indisputable cases of concession to this economical device. For we may not accept evidence unless it proves that the rôles *must* have been distributed: the mere possibility has been demonstrated by Schmidt. Accordingly, the "Zwischenscenen" must be of a very peculiar character to serve our purpose; any play given by a complete cast with a single rôle for each actor may show "Zwischenscenen" of the same sort as most of those in Roman comedy—for any dramatist will be likely to arrange a certain amount of alternation in the appearance of characters or groups of characters. If, however, we can discover scenes or passages peculiar in the sense that no reasonable explanation of their peculiarities exists outside of the limitation imposed by a small troupe, such evidence will be of primary value.

Such evidence, if discovered, will be quite independent of external evidence and of Schmidt's entire thesis. But if the evidence of primary importance is convincing, we may properly take up secondary evidence: that is, we may now assume Schmidt's arrangements of rôles to be correct, and proceed to test them. This seems an obvious thing to do; yet Schmidt made no effort in this direction. He tested them only with reference to coincident appearances, referring occasionally to harmony of rôles. But simple practical tests are at hand. If in a given play Schmidt thinks there were five actors in the cast, and if in a succession of two scenes, one requires five speaking rôles, and the other a rôle not included in the five, the structure must reveal the opportunity given to change rôles. If in the same play in a succession of two scenes one requires four parts and the other three parts distinct from the four, Schmidt's theory is immediately tested. Now such conditions do exist in the plays; the cases are not many in number, but they all corroborate the general theory of a limited number of actors, and either correct or confirm, to some extent, Schmidt's arrangements of rôles. It should be remembered, however, that such evidence or tests never carry us beyond the standpoint of Dziatzko. Only the primary evidence, if it is convincing to others as it is to me, will lead us to modify

Dziatzko's conservatism as Hauler interprets it. If my conclusions are correct, internal evidence shows that the *Miles Gloriosus*, the *Captivi*, and the *Pseudolus* were in their present form intended for production by a relatively small number of actors; Dziatzko's (or Hauler's) "could have been produced" becomes in these three cases "must have been produced." Furthermore, the evidence in these three cases shows that the author of any one of these plays in its present form (whether Plautus or not I do not yet care to say) was subjected to a certain "Selbstbeschränkung." This is the important point, not that the rôles were distributed among a few actors, but that the present form of the Latin comedies was affected by this concession to economy.

I

The last two acts of the *Miles* are parts of a harmonious whole. No theory of contamination¹ seriously affects their integrity. In them the second and final intrigue against the *miles* is successfully accomplished. A fictitious wife of Periplectomenus is represented to have fallen in love with the *miles*; the new affair necessitates the withdrawal of the former sweetheart, Philocomasium—an issue which satisfies her lover, Pleusicles, and the arch-intriguer, Palaestrio. The fourth act carries the intrigue up to the catastrophe; the fifth act reveals the catastrophe. In the action of the fourth act two circumstances are of importance in our present study. In the first place, Milphidippa, posing as the servant of the wife, is clearly presented as a go-between; it is she who makes the advances in IV, 2, and brings him a ring from the wife (1048-9); in IV, 6 she appears with the wife as her confidante; in both places her part is important, and her activity the conventional rôle of the servant or nurse in Hellenistic love-stories. In the second place, an important fact comes out in her words in 1277; the *miles* inquires how he is to gratify his new sweetheart when her husband is still in the field; *quinta tua causa exegit virum ab se*, is the servant's answer; there is, then, no obstacle to the new amour save the presence of Philocomasium. Act IV, 8 removes this obstacle; in this scene Philocomasium, Pleu-

¹ Cf. Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.*, 161 ff., and the references in n. 3, adding Hasper, *de compositione Militis Gloriosi*, *Festschrift d. 44. Versammlung deutsch. Phil. und Schulm.*, pp. 335 ff., Dresden, 1897, and Kakridis, *Rh. Mus.*, 59 (1904), 626.

sicles, Palaestrio, and Pyrgopolinices appear; the first two retire at v. 1353; the *miles*, left behind with Palaestrio, expresses his appreciation of the slave's services, and is with difficulty persuaded not to retain Palaestrio in his employ; Palaestrio retires in v. 1373. In 1373-6 the *miles* soliloquizes further on Palaestrio's faithfulness; he then says: *ibo hinc intro nunciam ad amores meos* (1376-7). The action thus far makes it quite natural that he should immediately carry out this purpose, but instead of doing so he hears the noise of an opening door: a *puer* appears, and the following scene (IV, 9) takes place:

PVER PYRGOPOLINICES

Pv. ne me moneatis: memini ego officium meum;
ego † nam † conueniam illum, ubi ubist gentium;
inuestigabo, operae non parco meae. 1380
Pv. me quaerit illic: ibo huic puero obuiam.
Pv. ehem, te quaero: salue, uir lepidissime,
cumulate commoditate, praeter ceteros
duo di quem curant. Pv. qui duo? Pv. Mars et Venus.
Pv. facetum puerum. Pv. intro te ut eas opsecrat: 1385
te uolt, te quaerit teque expectans expetit.
amanti fer opem. quid stas? quin intro is? Pv. eo.—
Pv. ipse illic sese iam inpediuit in plagas.
paratae insidiae sunt: in statu stat senex,
ut adoriatur moechum, qui formast ferox, 1390
qui omnis se amare credit, quaeque aspexerit
mulier: eum oderunt qua uiri qua mulieres.
nunc in tumultum ibo: intus clamorem audio.

The next scene (V, 1) requires four speaking characters, the largest number required in any scene of the play; they are Periplectomenus, Pyrgopolinices, Cario, and a *lorarius*; in 1427 a fifth appears, Sceledrus.

What is the purpose of the *puer*-scene (IV, 9)? Its function is clear in one respect: the action requires that the *miles* shall retire into the house of Periplectomenus, that a short period of time shall elapse thereafter to provide for the dénouement of V, 1; this lapse of time is covered by the monologue of the *puer* in 1388-93. To provide this

monologue the *puer* is brought upon the stage in 1378-87. Otherwise the scene is immaterial to the action. But at once the question arises: why is a *puer* employed for this purpose? He appears nowhere else in the play. Furthermore, the part of go-between which he plays here has already been clearly defined as the rôle of Milphidippa. No explanation of this duplication of parts is available, save the fact that the actor who played the rôle of Milphidippa was needed for one of the characters that appeared in the first scene of the fifth act.¹ This character could not have been Periplectomenus (unless, as Schmidt thinks, a supernumerary took Milphidippa's silent part in III, 3) or the *miles* (for Milphidippa and the *miles* appear together in other scenes); the part either of Cario or of the *lorarius*, however, might have been combined with the rôle of Milphidippa.² Our study makes impossible Schmidt's (reluctant) assignment of the *puer* and Milphidippa to one actor.³

¹ It might be objected that I have proved at best only that the scene-heading should read *Milphidippa* instead of *Puer*: but this summary dismissal of the peculiarities of the scene will not seem so plausible when we find two other *puer*-scenes in which no such solution is possible.

² The structure of the scene preceding the *puer*-scene seems to make further provision for changes: Philocomasium and Plensicles retire in 1353; after a stationary scene Palaestrio retires in 1373; the *puer*-scene gives Palaestrio time to change his rôle; that is, the structure, perhaps, releases three of the cast that they may take new rôles in V, 1. Note also that the appearance of Sceledrus in 1427 would enable the *puer* to take that part unless the *puer* remained on the stage after 1393: *nunc in tumultum ibo* (1393) seems to point to his withdrawal. Most of this, however, is secondary evidence.

³ Schmidt (*op. cit.*, 31) assigns Periplectomenus, Milphidippa, and the *puer* to one actor, regardless both of the conditions described above and also of the fact that the *puer* and Periplectomenus appear in successive scenes. This latter combination he would, presumably, justify on the ground that the end of an act intervenes; this assumption of a pause between acts he uses elsewhere for similar purposes. But in many cases the assumption is demonstrably false. As everybody knows the act-divisions are late; the theory of acts is also late; there is, however, a possibility, supported by the historical development of the form, that the structure of the action was affected by the *μῆρη*, the parts that resulted during and after the disappearance of the chorus ("Es unterliegt aber gar keinem Zweifel und wird durch die dramatische Technik aller Zeiten bestätigt, dass für die Führung der Handlung die Sonderung der Teile etwas wesentliches ist"; Leo, *Der Monolog*, 51). The assumption of a pause between acts, or *μῆρη*, according to Leo's divisions, rests largely on *Pseud.* 573a,

II

The mere statement of the case for the *Miles* may not be convincing ; if, however, all *puer*-scenes of this type (that is, in which a *puer* appears as a speaking character without contributing to the action and without serving any purpose outside the scene in question) lead us to the same conclusion, the argument is materially strengthened. There are only two other *puer*-scenes in our sense of the term in Plautus : the *puer* of *Bacch. Frag. X* (XVII) is an invention of the editors, and in any case the fragmentary passage does not admit discussion of the *puer*'s rôle ; Paegnium in the *Persa* is a *puer* according to the scene-headings of D (cf. 193), but the scenes (II, 2, 4) are essential to the action ; the *puer* in *Poen. 1141* is an invention of Angelius, and speaks only an incidental word or two ; Pinacium in the *Stichus* is a *puer* according to the scene-headings in B and D in II, 1, and in D in II, 2 (cf. 270), but contributes to the action ; in the *Mostellaria* Sphaerio *puer* (cf. 419) appears in the scene-heading of D after v. 407, but he has only two verses and plays a small part in the action. As *puer*-scenes there remain only *Captivi*, IV, 4, and *Pseudolus*, III, 1.

The action of the *Captivi* has reached the point where Hegio's distress at having released Philocrates is unexpectedly relieved by the news that Philocrates has returned, bringing the son, Philopolemus, and

which points to a musical interlude. Such an interval as that in *Asin. 809-10* seems to require either a pause between scenes (unless there is a lacuna) or a dance or music. Note also Ter. *Andria 171-2*, unless Simo remains on the stage. All these situations naturally remind us of the *χορὸς* in the New Greek Comedy as revealed in the text of Menander. How did the Roman writers manage the situation when the stage was left vacant by the text of their Greek originals except for the *χορὸς*, which was not so easily available in the Roman comedies? *Curc. 462 ff.* and *Capt. 461 ff.* show situations similar to those in the *Asin.* and *Andria* with the gaps filled by stationary scenes; is this Plautine, or at least Roman, technique, or were there such scenes in the Greek original (cf. p. 39, n. 2)? In any case is it not clear that we have no right to assume pauses unless the text forces it upon us? Finally it is to be noted that the *puer*-scenes discussed above make untenable a theory of pause of any appreciable length between the acts in these three cases; for all justification for the scenes disappears as soon as we assume a pause between the acts which would have in itself sufficed for changing rôles. On the whole matter of acts, μέρη, etc., cf. Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.*, 205 ff., *Der Monolog*, 28; 49 ff.; 44 and n. 2; 50 and nn. 5 and 6; 57, n. 3; 59, n. 2.

a slave, Stalagmus; the bearer of this news is the parasite Ergasilus (IV, 2). Hegio must go at once to the harbor to see his son. As a reward he gives Ergasilus the freedom of the pantry, and leaves the stage at v. 900. Ergasilus, before going into Hegio's house, anticipates in a monologue the joy of devastating the larder (901-908). He then goes into the house; perhaps a short interval follows, covered by the crash of platters within (Lindsay, *ad loc.*); then a *puer* comes out from the house of Hegio and describes the havoc Ergasilus is making within (IV, 4):

PVER

Diespiter te dique, Ergasile, perdant et uentrem tuom
 parasitosque omnis et qui posthac cenam parasitis dabit. 910
 clades calamitasque, intemperies modo in nostram aduenit domum.
 quasi lupus essuriens metui ne in me faceret inpetum.
 ubi voltus . . sur . . ntis . . . impetum. 912a
 nimisque hercle ego illum male formidabam, ita frendebat dentibus.
 adueniens deturbauit totum cum carni carnarium:
 arripuit gladium, praetruncauit tribus tegoribus glandia; 915
 aulas calicesque omnis confregit, nisi quae modiales erant.
 coquom percontabatur possentne seriae feruescere.
 cellas refregit omnis intus recclisitque armarium.
 adservate istunc, sultis, servi. ego ibo ut conveniam senem,
 dicam ut sibi penum aliud [ad]ornet, siquidem sese uti volet; 920
 nam hic quidem ut adornat aut iam nihil est aut iam nihil erit.

The *puer* goes off to find Hegio. In the next scene (V, 1) Hegio appears with Philocrates, Philopolemus, and Stalagmus; Stalagmus does not speak until v. 955, but is present from the beginning of the scene. The number of rôles required is the largest demanded by any scene in the play.

A partial justification for the *puer*-scene is at once available. Obviously the interval between Hegio's departure (900) and his return (922) must be filled; the action of the play has advanced too far to develop any feature of the plot; the only recourse is a stationary scene or scenes; accordingly the monologue of Ergasilus and that of the *puer* appear to fill the interval. But why the monologue of the *puer*? He

appears nowhere else in the play.¹ Why should not the monologue of Ergasilus be expanded to twenty-two verses, instead of dividing the stop-gap between two characters, the second of whom is of no service elsewhere in the play? The poet is not usually averse to expanding indefinitely a parasite's monologue: witness III, 1, of this play (cf. *Men.* 446 ff.) — there again the interval of Hegio's absence (460–498) must be filled, and Ergasilus soliloquizes for thirty-seven verses. Clearly the *puer*-scene calls for further explanation. The fact that it takes the place of an extension of Ergasilus's monologue suggests the explanation: the actor who played the rôle of Ergasilus was needed for one of the characters that appeared in the first scene of the fifth act; the *puer*-scene gives Ergasilus time to change his rôle.²

III

It has probably not escaped the reader's notice that these two *puer*-scenes come at the end of the fourth act, just before a scene in which the largest number of actors is required; that is, no other scenes of the two plays require more than four speaking characters. We are not to infer that the troupe consisted of four actors, but it is significant that as the playwright approaches the conclusion of his play the difficulties of concealing his concession to economy are greatest; the threads of the plot have run out; stationary scenes and a *puer ex machina* are his

¹ Weise, *die Komödien des Plaut.* kritisch nach Inhalt und Form beleuchtet, 76 (as quoted by Langen, *Plaut. Stud.*, 123), rejects the *puer*-scene because the *puer* does not appear again, and does not here promote the action. Langen, *l. c.*, properly demurs, reminding us that the entire rôle of Ergasilus is immaterial to the action, but that the authenticity of his speeches is not open to question.

² Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 24: "Endlich ist noch der schnurrige Parasit Ergasilus und der verschmitzte Slave Stalagmus für den vierten Schauspieler übrig; . . ." Note the harmony of rôles.

Leo (*Der Monolog*, 59 and n. 2) appreciates some of the features: he compares the parasite's monologue in 461 ff. and suggests that the two monologues of the parasite, like the speech of the *choragus* in the *Curculio*, take the place of a χοροῦ in the Greek original; the *choragus*-scene, he says, is positively Roman; the monologue in *Capt.* 461 ff. has no Attic coloring, and shows a Roman source in 476, 489; the monologue of the *puer* is neutral. This suggestion gains in force when we remember that the part played by the *puer* in the dramatic economy of the piece has no analogy in Euripides or in Greek comedy.

only resort. The third *puer*-scene, however, shows that this is not the only condition that led a playwright to reveal the limitation imposed upon him: a small troupe offers little variety in the way of physical or temperamental peculiarities; the shift of rôles in the *Pseudolus* was probably occasioned by the fact that one actor was especially adapted to two similar rôles.¹

The *Pseudolus*, like the *Miles*, is a victim of the contamination-theory.² In this case we cannot escape some consideration of this factor. I think, however, that it will be clear that my argument is not affected by any theory of contamination so long as I am not as yet raising the question of the authorship of any of these scenes.

Act I, 2, Ballio, a *leno*, is on his way to the market-place (163); he is attended by a *puer* (170, 241, 242, 249, 252, 263), who does not speak in the course of the second and third scenes. In the following scenes, up to the beginning of act III, the intrigue is partially developed. At the end of the second act (II, 4), after a short monologue, Pseudolus goes to the market-place (764). At the beginning of the third act a *puer* appears, and delivers the following monologue (767-789):

PVER

quoi seruitutem di danunt lenoniam
 puero, atque eidem si addunt turpitudinem,
 ne illi, quantum ego nunc corde conspicio meo,
 malam rem magnam multasque aerumnas danunt. 770
 velut haec mihi euenit seruitus, ubi ego omnibus
 paruis magnisque miseriis praefulcior:
 neque ego amatorem mihi inuenire ullum queo
 qui amet me, ut curer tandem nitidiuscule.
 nunc huic lenoni hodiernis natalis dies: 775
 interminatust a minimo ad maximum,
 siquis non hodie munus misisset sibi,
 eum cras cruciatu maximo perbitere.

¹ The importance of this factor has been interestingly elaborated by Rees, *op. cit.*, 53 ff.

² Bierma, *Quaestiones de Plautina Pseudolo*, 1897. Leo, *Nachrichten d. Göttingen Ges.*, 1903. Karsten, *Mnemosyne*, 31 (1903), 130.

nunc nescio hercle rebus quid faciam meis :
 neque ego illud possum quod illi qui possunt solent. 780
 nunc, nisi lenoni munus hodie misero,
 cras mihi potandus fructus est fullonius.
 eheu, quam illae rei ego etiam nunc sum paruolus.
 atque edepol ut nunc male malum metuo miser,
 si quispiam det qui manus grauior siet, 785
 quamquam illud aiunt magno gemitu fieri,
 comprimere dentes uideor posse aliquo modo.
 sed comprimenda est mihi uox atque oratio :
 erus eccum recipit se domum et ducit coquom.

It will be noticed that this *puer* does not announce whence he comes ; his concluding words (788-789) do not show whether he goes off, or remains on the stage. If we had the scene without its context we should certainly suppose that the *puer* came out from the house of Ballio in 767, and retired into it in 789, after announcing his master's approach. In the next scene (III, 2) Ballio returns from the market-place with a cook ; the scene-headings in B and D represent a *puer* as present in this scene ; in 855-864 of this scene Ballio addresses somebody, evidently a slave ; inasmuch as in Act I, 2 he was attended by a *puer*, it is reasonable to suppose that the person addressed is the *puer* of I, 2. In vv. 891-892 somebody says : *quin tu is accubitus, et convivias cedo, corrumpitur iam cena.* These words are assigned by Bothe and all recent editors to the *puer* ; B C D assign them, wrongly (cf. 893), to the cook. In the following scene (IV, 1) Pseudolus returns.

The first question is : is the *puer* of I, 2 identical with the *puer* of III, 1 ? Clearly the birthday-motif of I, 2 is resumed in III, 1. It is quite conceivable that this motif is a weak echo from one of the plays used in the process of contamination. Again it is quite conceivable that III, 1 is an interpolation in which the interpolator has clumsily availed himself of the birthday-motif suggested in I, 2 ; it does not follow that the *puer* is the *puer* of I, 2 ; if this was the intention of the interpolator he has strangely neglected to make clear the identity ; the language of the *puer* in III, 1 certainly suggests that he simply comes out of Ballio's house at the opening of the scene and retires at the close of the same scene. Finally we must admit, I think, that it is reasonable

to suppose that the *puer* of I, 2 is the person addressed in 855 ff.¹ The action of I, 2 and of III, 2 is consistent, and the characters in the two scenes belong to one consistent line of action: Ballio goes off to the market with a *puer* to provide for his birthday-party (cf. 165-169), and in III, 2 returns with the *puer* and the cook. With this action III, 1 is imperfectly connected.

But, however these questions are answered, I simply start with the assumption that the present text represents an acting version of a play produced in Plautus's time or later: in this acting version what is the *raison d'être* of the *puer*-scene, III, 1?

In 1858 Sauppe² noted that both III, 1 and 2 are not connected with the action of the play, and offered as an explanation the desire of the poet to amuse the populace. Lorenz,³ much more properly, ex-

¹ Leo, however (critical note on 767), objects: ". . . versus 855 sq. ad *puerum* hac aetate non quadrant, cf. 170, 241." I admit that I hardly understand the objection or the references. V. 170 (*i, puer, prae; ne quisquam pertundat cruminam cautius*), if it means that the *puer* is in any way a protection against thieves, would seem to be in harmony with the directions of 855 ff. If Leo means merely to include both passages as evidence that the action is suggestive of an older person, I cannot follow him. If Leo is simply defending his theory of interpolation, I fully agree with him to this extent: the *puer* is a *puer delicatus* (773 ff.) in III, 1, and to some extent his age is thereby defined; but the *puer* of I, 2 and III, 2 is simply the *παῖς* of Greek comedy, and the action assigned to him in I, 2 and in III, 2 is appropriate for a young and probably sturdy slave whose age is not defined precisely by the term *puer* in a technical sense. Lorenz seems to me to be altogether correct (*Philol.*, 35 [1876], 173), in speaking of the *puer* of III, 1: "der *puer* hat sonst gar nichts im Stücke zu thun; denn der 855 angeredete ist der *pedisequos* Ballio's."

² *Quaestiones Plantinae*, 8: "Haec vero scena et quae sequitur cum fabulae totius argumento parum cohaerent nec si deessent desiderarentur. Sed, nisi fallor, et similis huius *puer* et *coquus* in alia fabula, an dicam in pluribus, plebeculae ita placuerant, ut poeta personas spectatoribus gratissimas etiam huic fabulae risus captandi causa praeter necessitatem adderet."

³ *Pseudolus*, Einl. 12: "Die hierzu nöthige Zwischenzeit wird in der Oekonomie des Stückes ausgefüllt durch zwei episodische Scenen . . ." Cf. *ibid.*, 24.

Ibid., 24, n. 23: "So nothwendig und gut angebracht diese Scene [III, 2] ist, so wenig nothwendig und so schlecht ausgeführt erscheint die siebente [III, 1]. Es ist nicht abzusehen, was den Plautus bewogen haben sollte, nach der im ersten Canticum [I, 2] gegebenen grossen Schilderung der Zustände im Hause des *leno*, noch eine ganz unmotivirte Fortsetzung derselben hier zu geben, und zwar eine der widerlichsten Art. Der *puer* ist sofort nach derselben wieder verschollen: denn der 833 [= 855]

plained the two scenes as a stop-gap to fill the interval of time between Pseudolus's departure (766) and his return (905); and with even greater propriety noted that this justification could not apply to the *puer*-scene; he declares that III, 1 is an unpardonable repetition of the description of conditions in the *leno*'s house already given in I, 2, and says that he should be glad to believe that the entire *puer*-scene is a later interpolation by an actor's hand to please the audience. Leo (critical note on 767) agrees that it is an interpolation "*ut in actione in vicem succederet scaenae I, 2.*"¹ Several accepted facts are important in our study: a stop-gap to fill the interval of time is necessary — that is furnished sufficiently by III, 2; the desire to amuse the audience by stationary cook-scenes is characteristic both of the New Greek Comedy and of Plautus — but the *puer*-scene supplies no such entertainment. All the natural requirements are satisfied by III, 2; III, 1 is apparently superfluous. We may not say in this case that a further superfluity is evident in the invention of a *puer* not elsewhere used in the play, although in my opinion it is true: the *puer* of III, 1 is not the *puer* of I, 2 and III, 2. But, however that may be, the only explanation of the *puer*-scene lies in the fact that the actor who played the rôle of Pseudolus also took the part of either Ballio or the cook; it must have been the cook, for elsewhere Ballio and Pseudolus appear on the stage together. This is the assignment of rôles already made by Schmidt,² but based only on the matter of coincident appearances and harmony of rôles. The temperaments of Pseudolus and the cook are

sqq. Angeredete kann der *pedisequos* sein (165 [= 170] sq., 235 [= 241] sq. u. ö.) oder ein mittlerweile aus dem Hause Getretener. Zu Gunsten des Dichters selbst möchte man daher gerne glauben, dass nicht bloß 768 R., sondern die ganze Scene unächt wäre, eine spätere Schauspielerinterpolation zum Vergnügen der niedrigsten Klasse des Publicums, etwa wie in 1061–1068 [= 1079–1086]."

Philol., 35 [1876], 173: "Die Scene [III, 1] ist für die Komposition des Stückes völlig entbehrlich: zur Ausfüllung der nöthigen Pause zwischen 764 sqq., . . . und 905 . . . genügt völlig die Scene mit dem Koche III, 2."

¹ Cf. Leo in *Nachrichten d. Göttingen Ges.* (1903), 352: Der dritte Akt, die grosse Scene Ballio's mit dem Koch, ist auffallenderweise, wie Bierma S. 27 ff. richtig ausführt, nur durch ein unwesentliches Moment äusserlich mit der Handlung verbunden; wahrscheinlich hat dies Moment, die Geburtsfeier Ballio's, ursprünglich eine Bedeutung für die Handlung selbst.

² *Op. cit.*, 34.

manifestly similar, and so highly individualized as to make a different distribution difficult in a small troupe. The *puer*-scene made it possible for Pseudolus to retire in 766 and reappear as the cook in 790.

Now in this case we may put our conclusion to an immediate test. For Pseudolus appears in IV, 1, the scene immediately following the cook-scene. If the cook and Pseudolus are played by the same actor, obviously the end of III, 2 must reveal the provision made for the cook to retire and reappear in the next scene as Pseudolus. This provision is made in our texts: the cook retires in 892; Ballio speaks a monologue, 892-904; then Pseudolus appears (905).

If I am right we have discovered four passages in the plays that were provided primarily to facilitate change of rôles. The number of verses in such passages should be roughly the same, making some allowance for greater difficulties in some changes as compared with others; the figures may be of interest;¹ they serve a practical purpose in testing the secondary evidence that we have now to consider:

<i>Miles Glo.</i> 1378-93	. . .	16 vv.
<i>Capt.</i> 909-21	. . .	13 "
<i>Pseud.</i> 767-89	. . .	23 "
<i>Pseud.</i> 892-904	. . .	13 "

The fact that ten more verses were required to transform Pseudolus into the cook than to change the cook back to Pseudolus may serve to cheer the supporters of the theory that the *puer*-scene is an interpolation later than the authentic text (but cf. for the length of the passage *Most.* 408-30, below, p. 47). It is equally reasonable to assume that the second change was less difficult than the first. In any case, without

¹ The figures are of special interest in comparison with the length of the passages used by some scholars to prove the distribution of rôles in the Greek drama. In *Class. Journ.* VIII (1813), 433-5, Elmsley remarks: "It appears from these instances, that the recitation of twelve or fifteen trimeter iambs allowed an actor sufficient time to retire, to change his dress, and return." If there is any force in this correspondence (and I do not wish to be understood as committing myself to the rule of three actors in the Greek drama), the suggestions of Roemer (*Philol.*, 65 [1906], 74) are weakened by the much greater length of the intervening passages in the *Ajax* and the *Antigone*. Cf. also Rees, *op. cit.*, 50 ff., who is "guided by the situation in individual cases, . . .": he objects, however, only when less than ten verses are allowed for a change.

a careful study of style, which is beyond the scope of this paper, the question of authorship in any of these *puer*-scenes cannot be convincingly answered. I wish to note two negative facts: first, none of these passages shows any trace of Greek influence;¹ secondly, apart from the style there is nothing in the form and content of the passages that militates against a theory of interpolation by a later hand for the purpose of production under special economic conditions: on the other hand, such craftsmanship as they illustrate seems not inconsistent with the manner of Plautus as evinced in other features of his style and technique. Whether as a stage-hand or an actor in Atellan plays² Plautus probably learned the practical side of dramatic composition; his plays show that such practical requirements might very likely be met by him in a far from artistic fashion.³

IV

There are certain features common to all these *puer*-scenes: they are short; they employ a character not used elsewhere in the play; they do not advance the action; in two of the three cases they are followed by scenes that require the largest number of actors employed in any scene of the play. Obviously any other scenes that reveal *all* these features may repay study. Perhaps the question has already

¹ Cf. Leo, *Der Monolog*, 59, n. 2. Karsten, however (*Mnemos.*, 31 [1903], 154), differs with respect to the *puer*-scene in the *Pseudolus*: "Forma et res prorsus graecae sunt. Actionem fabulae pauci hi versus nihil promovent, sed neque retinent; idcirco scenam, quae respondet querelis Syncerasti in Poenulo, nec Plauto nec graeco auctore indignam esse censeo." The comparison with the *Poen.* 823 ff. is not inappropriate, but positive evidence of a Greek source is wanting; the motif of 773-4 is certainly Greek, but who shall say it is not Roman?

² Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.*, 64 ff., 72 ff.

³ I mean simply that the incoherences of the style and structure of the plays should lead us to be very cautious in ascribing to other hands parts of the plays that show a weakness in organic structure. The fact that Terence reveals nothing analogous to the *puer*-scenes may point in one of many directions: either to a difference in text-tradition, or a difference in the matter of dependence upon Greek originals, or (including the previous explanation) a difference in personality and in methods. Until the style of the *puer*-scenes is proved to be different from Plautus's I must indulge my predilection for the last explanation, with a qualification that the *puer*-scene in the *Pseudolus* is more properly suspected than the other two scenes.

arisen in the reader's mind: are there not other scenes in which a minor character, not a *puer*, appears for a short time? This is quite true, but such characters and scenes usually promote the action: for example, Halisca in *Cist.* IV, 2, the *advorsitores* in *Most.* IV, 1, 2. Other scenes fail to satisfy all the requirements, though reproducing some of the features: the *choragus*-scene in the *Curc.* IV, 1 is short, introduces a character not elsewhere used, and is a stationary scene, but the neighboring scenes show that it does not facilitate change of rôles, but simply stops a gap between the withdrawal of three characters in III, 1 and the return of the same characters in IV, 2;¹ the Lurchio-scene in the *Miles* (III, 2) satisfies most of the requirements, but it is too long to serve primarily for the change of rôles and is sufficiently explained by the contamination-theory;² the *piscatores*-scene³ in the *Rudens* (II, 1) may very likely suggest that Ptolemocratia (I, 5) and Trachalio (II, 2) were played by the same actor, but the conditions of the three scenes do not make this explanation inevitable; in the same play the *lorarii*-passage (821-838) is very suspicious, especially as so many actors are required in the next scene (III, 6), but again the explanation is not inevitable, and such *lorarii*-scenes seem rather to be for comic effect;⁴ the *convivium*-scenes opening the fifth act of the *Asinaria* and of the *Persa* incidentally, perhaps, facilitate change of rôles, but they are probably derived from Greek sources and primarily serve other purposes.⁵

¹ Leo, *Der Monolog*, 50, n. 6.

² Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.*, 166 ff.

³ Leo, *Der Monolog*, 44.

⁴ There is no evidence of whipping in this scene, but the situation and the threats probably entertained the audience; corporal punishment was clearly a source of comic effect in ancient comedy, and in the case of slaves is included among the elements which Aristophanes pretends to have banished from the comic stage (*Pax* 743 ff.) in spite of several scenes in his plays that point to the contrary.

⁵ In the *Asinaria*, V, 1, the *convivium*-scene would permit Diabolus to become Artemona, but against this combination cf. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 16, 22.

In the *Persa*, V, 1, the *convivium*-scene would permit the *Virgo* to become Paegnium. This combination is not improbable; cf. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 32.

In both cases the next scene requires the largest number of actors needed in any scene of the play; both scenes are stop-gaps, but the return of Dordalus in the *Persa* is not motivated as is the advent of Artemona in the *Asinaria*.

Finally, besides serving all these other purposes, the scenes are unnecessarily long for a change of rôles, and are analogous in content to *ἐξῶδοι* in the Old Attic Comedy (Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.*, 152).

There are, however, three other passages that may properly serve as secondary evidence; if one grants that the rôles were distributed, and accepts a reasonable assignment of parts for these three plays, the scenes in question immediately become necessary and to this necessity their existence may plausibly be referred.

The admirable expository scenes of the first act of the *Mostellaria* are familiar to every student of Plautus. Philolaches, Callidamates, Philematium, Delphium are in the midst of their revelry at the end of the first act when Tranio appears with the news of the father's arrival. Act II, 1, therefore, requires five actors, the largest number required in any scene of the play. Schmidt shows that five actors might easily have carried all the rôles of the play; in this case the theory is very plausible, for none of the five characters needed in the introductory scenes reappears except Tranio and Callidamates, and the reappearance of the latter is deferred to the end of the play. The father, Theopropides, appears in II, 2; the theory requires that one of the five actors in II, 1 shall take the part of the father in II, 2. If this is the case the structure should reveal the provision made for the change of rôles. The two women leave the stage in 398; a short conversation follows between Philolaches and Tranio (398-406) in which a very trivial bit of action is developed. This action is in a sense essential: the house-door must be locked that the father may not get in and discover the revellers; it must be locked on the outside because the revellers are irresponsible, and might interfere with Tranio's plans. But this action hardly requires the attention given to it; Philolaches might have the key or secure it by giving an order to a slave within the house. Instead of this, Philolaches goes into the house; Tranio soliloquizes in the fashion of the intriguing slave¹ confident of success (409-18); a *puer* appears with the key (419); after a short dialogue, Tranio resumes his monologue (427-30); then the father appears (431). It seems reasonable to suppose that this trivial action is developed to allow Philolaches to become Theopropides, a combination for which Schmidt (p. 32) provides; the passage (408-30 = 23 vv.) is of the length required for such a change so far as the *puer*-scenes set a standard. The early

¹ Leo, *Der Monolog*, 72, n. 12, includes some of these monologues under the head of "Überlegung."

departure of the women (398) may have enabled one of them to take the part of the *puer*.¹ But the difference between this passage and the *puer*-scenes is important; here the *puer* has few words and contributes to the action; the monologue of Tranio is the conventional monologue of the arch-intriguer before he puts his plans into operation; the only suspicious feature is the trivial nature of the action. The technique is less difficult to parallel than that of the *puer*-scenes, and for that reason the evidence is somewhat less positive.

The environment of all scenes that require, according to Schmidt's assignments, the entire troupe of actors is likely to test his theory, but only in case a new character outside of the maximum number appears in the preceding or following scene. Schmidt shows that the *Mercator* could have been presented by four actors. The entire company, therefore, is required in IV, 4, in which Lysimachus, Dorippa, Syra, and a cook appear at the outset. The next scene (IV, 5) brings a fifth, Eutychus, on the stage. The structure must show some device to meet this situation. The cook and his attendants withdraw in 782; Syra leaves in 788; Dorippa leaves before 792; Lysimachus delivers a monologue, 793-802; then Syra and Eutychus appear (IV, 4). Such a structure obviously made it possible for either the cook or Dorippa to take the rôle of Eutychus; Schmidt² with some hesitation combines the rôles of Dorippa and Eutychus; in that case at least eleven verses (792-802) intervened for the change of rôles; in the other case twenty-three verses (782-802). Both harmony of rôles and the structure seem to me to point to a combination of Dorippa and the young lover, Charinus, who appears in 830; this leaves the cook and Eutychus for one actor. In this way we secure the obvious fitness of combining a woman's part and that of a sentimental lover; the combination of the audacious cook and the lover seems more difficult. At the same time by this combination of parts we allow plenty of time for changes: the cook has twenty-three verses in which to become Eutychus; Dorippa has thirty-eight verses (792-829) in which to become Charinus; the greater time required for this change is accounted for by the difficulty

¹ Fritzsche, *Quatuor leges scenicae Græcorum pœseos*, 29 ff., notes that the rôle of the *puer* might have been taken by some one of the actors who appeared in the previous scene, but does not draw any further inferences.

² *Op. cit.*, 56, cf. 30.

of shifting from the rôle of a woman to that of a man; incidentally the monologue of Syra (817-29), by this arrangement, has an economic justification in addition to the explanation furnished by the parabasis of Greek comedy and certain passages of Euripides.¹

Schmidt has not carefully worked out the important question of supernumeraries. It does not seem consistent with an economic theory to suppose that the parts of the *danista*, of the *fidicina* Acropolistis, of the *virgo* Telestis in the *Epidicus* were taken by supernumeraries; all of these characters speak a goodly number of verses; by his arrangement Schmidt brings the number of actors down to four. If we distribute these three rôles among the regular actors the troupe need be increased only to five; and in that case the structure of the play at the beginning of the fifth act becomes intelligible. Act IV, 2 presents three speaking characters; in the course of the next scene (V, 1) four additional speaking characters appear; the structure, however, easily provides for a company of five actors. Acropolistis, Periphanes, and Philippa remain on the stage through practically the entire scene (IV, 2); after their withdrawal Stratippocles and Epidicus appear and converse (607-19); then the *danista* and Telestis appear (620); the *danista* goes out in 647. The conversation, or rather the two monologues and the conversation, in 607-19 (again thirteen verses) do not advance the action or serve any other discoverable purpose than to provide for two of the actors in the previous scene to assume the rôles of Telestis and the *danista*. The possible combinations are the rôles of Acropolistis and Periphanes and Philippa² in the previous scenes with the rôles of the *danista* and Telestis in this scene; it is natural to assume that the two women, Acropolistis and Telestis, were played by one actor,³ leaving another actor the rôles of Periphanes and

¹ This monologue is rejected by Ribbeck (*Emend. Merc. Plaut. Spicilegium*, 13) and by Langen (*Plaut. Stud.*, 312) because of its unfitness and stylistic defects. Leo, however (*Plaut. Forsch.*, 107 ff.), successfully defends it as a survival of "die euripideische Klage" (*Med.* 244 ff., *Elect.* 1036 ff., *Med.* 184 ff.).

² It is to be noted that, unless there is a pause between the acts, Schmidt's combination of Philippa and Epidicus gives Philippa only an interval of six verses (604-9) in which to make the change.

³ This assumption rests on the likelihood that the parts of women were taken by one actor so far as possible; in several plays, however, there are too many women to admit of such a combination, or rather, the appearances of the women are such as to prevent this combination.

the *danista*. This provides thirteen verses for both changes. Finally, it should be noted that the departure of the *danista* in 647 provides, perhaps, for his return as Periphanes in 666 (648-65 = 18 vv.).

Doubtless other scenes of this sort might be discovered.¹ I have rejected many, and chosen these three as offering the most satisfactory secondary evidence available. They show that even as a statement of the possibilities Schmidt's arrangements may be improved by a more careful study of the structure of the plays. Such a study would be indeed audacious but for the truth revealed by the *puer*-scenes. They certainly justify the statement that the intelligent appreciation of the technique of the plays of Plautus in their present form cannot be realized without considering this phase of the dramatic production of the comedies. It is in this aspect of the problem that I have been interested; others may be willing to apply the results to their studies in dramatic antiquities or in the transmission of our text of Plautus.

¹ An investigation of the subject must start with a determination of the theory of a pause between acts; to this decision I think the *puer*-scenes make some contribution; possibly such a structure as that in the *Epidicus* also contributes — if there was a pause, why this structure? Another preliminary question concerns the use of supernumeraries; in some cases the internal structure may determine this question. When these questions are settled, the structure of scenes requiring the largest number of actors in connection with the structure of preceding and following scenes is a natural subject for investigation, but only in case the surrounding scenes require new rôles: this limits the field considerably. And any such study is hardly worth while unless the reader is convinced by the *puer*-scenes that there is a sufficient basis for a more serious consideration of the subject than Lorenz, Dziatzko, and Hauler admit.

A HARVARD MANUSCRIPT OF ST. AUGUSTINE

BY ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE

A MANUSCRIPT in the Harvard College Library, numbered Nor. 2000, came to the Library on 14 March, 1906, from the library of the late Professor Charles Eliot Norton. It contains St. Augustine's homilies on 1 John, with the subtitle *De Caritate*. The manuscript appears to have been a gift from Professor James Russell Lowell to Professor Norton, for the inside of the front cover bears the inscription, "C. E. N. With love of J. R. L. 24 Feb: 1886." But it was probably in Mr. Norton's hands before this date, for a letter from Professor C. P. Gregory of Leipzig, dated 26 January, 1886, and addressed directly to Mr. Norton deals with the purchase of the manuscript and the arrangements to be made for the payment of the price paid for it by Professor Gregory to a Paris bookseller. The cover also bears a mark of the Didot Library, and in the *Catalogue illustré des Livres précieux . . . de la bibliothèque de M. Ambroise Firmin-Didot*, Vol. V (1883), pp. 39-40, no. 25, there is a brief description of the manuscript, assigning it to the tenth century, certainly too early a date. The only clue to its earlier history is an inscription in a bold hand on the top of fol. 11, 'Biblioth. Weissenau,' showing it to have belonged to the old Benedictine monastery of Weissenau in Bavaria. The binding is modern, and the trimming of the edges has stripped off some small bits.

The book contains 92 vellum leaves in addition to three blank leaves at the front and three at the back, 23.5×16 cm. in size. There are 25 lines on a page, in one column. The marks of the sharp edge used in ruling are very evident as are also the holes made by the compasses used in spacing the lines. Several holes in the vellum were mended by stitches before the writing was done.

The ink varies much in blackness, tending to grow browner as the scribe advanced. In the middle of f. 17 v there is a very sudden change from brown to black and others occur at the beginnings of

homilies, but without change of writer. Red ink is used for the initial capital letters of the homilies and the accompanying lemmas are shaded with red. The first homily commences with a capital illuminated with black, red, green, and yellow, and a design representing a composite animal.

The writing is in a clear Caroline minuscule hand of the late eleventh or early twelfth century. The Didot catalogue suggests that it may have been written at Weissenau. In some cases, as in the introductory title, various forms of capitals and uncials are interspersed. Initial letters of sentences offer a great variety of forms, being often enlarged, thickened, and ornamented with dots. These enlarged letters bear no relation to the text, and occur most frequently in ff. 20-25.¹ Some ligatures are found, most frequently at the ends of lines, e. g. ct, nt, ns, st, us.

Punctuation in the manuscript offers little of note, though often differing from that in printed texts. There are many erasures and corrections by the first hand and many insertions above the line. Of corrections by a second hand there are few.

Accent marks are abundant and used in the following ways: (i) to mark *ii*; (ii) to mark single *i*²; (iii) over the exclamation *o*; (iv) to distinguish the quantity of vowels in words spelled alike, e. g., *inventimus*, *invénimus*; *eadem*, *éadem*; *ferimus*, (*férimus*); *incidunt*, (*incídunt*), etc.; (v) very frequently in compound words to show that the prefix is not a complete word and carry the reader forward to what follows, e. g., *invicem*, *incipit*, *ávide*, *quidlibet*, *némorum*, *castificat*, *ádmódum*, *ádeo*, *superflua*, *nichilóminus*. In this use it is occasionally combined with the hyphen used to close up the line, e. g., *dé-mens*, *dé-super*. The converse use once appears: *in via*, to be distinguished from *invia*. (vi) To emphasize a long vowel or accented syllable even where there appears little danger of confusion, e. g., *idiótas*, *imperitos*, *cadátis*, *suscépit*, *coluphizet*, etc.; (vii) on a few unaccented syllables: *tantó*, *quantó*, *pauló*. The circumflex accent is confined in use (with one

¹ They match very well letters in a Quintilian ms. of S. XII in Champollion, *Paléographie des classiques latins*, pl. VII.

² Wattenbach, *Anleitung*, p. 52, calls this use unusual and found from S. XII onward. In the Norton ms. it is used only to prevent confusion, e. g., with an adjacent *u*.

exception) to long penultimate vowels, but is not used over all such. Elsewhere the acute is used.

In spelling, confusions of *e*, *ae*, and *oe* are frequent, the cedilla for the two latter being often omitted or misplaced. Confusion of *ci* and *ti* before a vowel occurs constantly. Other peculiarities are noted below. The abbreviations and contractions used are fairly numerous, but offer no difficulty.

The value of this manuscript for the establishment of the text the future editor must determine. The collation which follows will show its many variations¹ from the text of the Paris edition of 1836-39 used by Migne in Vol. XXXV of his *Patrologia*. The lack of an apparatus criticus in those editions and their unsatisfactory treatment of the text make a reëxamination of the numerous manuscripts of this work essential, and toward such an end I trust that this collation may contribute.

In the collation which follows abbreviations and contractions are regularly expanded; differences of punctuation are not noted, save in passages cited for other purposes; and confusions of *e*, *ae*, *oe*, and of *ci* and *ti* are omitted. The manuscript differs from the text in presenting consistently the following spellings which I omit in the collation: *caritas*, *eundem*, *Hieremias*, *Hierusalem*, *immo*, *Iohannes*, *michi*, *nichil*(-ominus), *nunquid*, *paradysus*, *quamquam*, *quandam*, *scisma*(-ticus), *tempto* and its derivatives. The passages are cited from Migne's edition, the numbers referring to column and line of Vol. XXXV, the readings of which are followed in the collation by the variant readings of the Norton manuscript.

1977, *init.* Incipit tractatus sancti augusti episcopi in epistolas sancti Iohannis evangelistae. de caritate. — 3. solemnitas] sollempnitas. — 9. hebdomadam] ebdomadam. — 18. locutus] locuturus.

1978, 5-8. De eo quod . . . oculos eius] *om.* — 12. tractat] tractaret. — 22. videte] vide. — 25. autem] *om.*

1979, 6. unde] *add. supra.* — 10. et vidimus, et] et vidimus inquit et. — 15. quotidie] cottidie. — 24. sunt martyres] martyres sunt. — 24. habere voluit] voluit habere. — 31. gigas] gygas. — 33. sidera] sydera. — 39. sunt] *add. supra.* — 40. quia] quia sic. — 42. dicit] *om.*

¹ For noteworthy examples see below: 1987, 57; 2007, 48; 2009, 26, 27; 2011, 29; 2029, 33; 2037, 16; 2062, 19.

—13. [Isaias] Ysaïas. —14. enim] *om.* —14. ex persona] ex ipsa persona. —17-18. se fecit] *om.* —30. erat] est. —33. vobis] et vobis. —37. vobis] et vobis.

1930. 3. illi] illi. —7. et quidam] quidam. —16. vidisti] vidisti me. —17. credunt] credent. —18. designati] designati. —22. societatem habere] habere societatem. —25. et haec] haec. —27. in ipsa unitate] *om.* —28. est] inquit —29. contrectaverunt] et contrectaverunt. —30. obscura] obscurata. —33. auderet] auderet *corr. m¹ ex audi* . . . —39. quid] *add. supra.* —31. nostros] *om.* —33. debet esse] esse debet. —34. longeq[ue] longe.

1931. 3. ut ex ipsa] ut et ab ipsa ab *add. supra.* —4. possumus] possumus en. —10. dixit] dixit en. —11. illius] ipsius. —19-20. in eo non sunt] non sunt in eo. —27. dixerimus quia] dixerimus quod. —32. est societas] societas est. —34. ergo] ergo. —34. in iniquitatibus] iniquitationibus. —35. surrepti] surrepti. —40. facimus] faciemus. —44. sunt nullae] non sunt illae. —49. peccata] et peccata.

1932. 3-4. lumine] lumine ergo. —6. sequitur] sequitur (*fortasse corr. ex sequatur*). —6. Christu] *om.* —11. eius] crucis Domini. —16. erat et est] est et est. —30. confessus fratri peccatorem] peccatorem confessus fratri. —34. enim] *add. supra.* —39. carnem portat] portat carnem. —39. surrependa] surrependa. —34. confessionem] confessionem. Quia.

1933. 7. quod es] qui es. —3. dic Deo quod] dic Deo quid. —3. non] *add. supra.* —10. in] *add. supra.* —13. iniquitatem meam] iniquitates meas. —17. est] est. —20. contradicat] *corr. ex tradicat.* —20. seipsum] semetipsum. —27. securi] et securi. —31. enim est] est enim. —34. surrepti] surrepti. —35. Quid] *om.* —36. et] *om.* —36. peccarent] *dimens : in ras.* —40. surrepsent] surrepsent. —49. vir] *om.* —50. ille. ille] ille. —51. traxavit] traxavit (*in ras.*). —53-54. habens] ne habens. —54. apud] ad.

1934. 1. ipsum habemus] habemus ipsum. —7. cum dicunt homines] *om.* —7. inuendos] inuendos. —10. et] vel. —20. hic] et hic. —20. dividendum] dividendum. —20-21. qui enim] quia. —24. velent] velle. —24. eum in parte] in parte eum. —29. gentibus] *om.* —29. propinans est] est propinatio. —33. praecisores] praecipitatores. —34. est] *om.* —40. inquit servaverit] servaverit inquit. —41. est dilectus] dilectio est. —45. attende] attendite. —46. est hoc] hoc est.

1985, 11. quia] quoniam. — 15. saevirent] sevierunt (*in ras.*). — 15. nunc] *om.* — 19. vos.] *om.* — 21. sicut ipse] sicut ille. — 26. ut] monet ut. — 27. et] *om.* — 29. sic ergo si] si ergo. — 30. viam] in via. — 37. veterem hominem] hominem veterem. — 43. in ipso] et in ipso. — 43. iam] nam. — 47. lux vero] lux vera. — 53. quod dixit] quod dicit. — 55. dicemus] dicimus. — 55. diligite] *add. supra.* — 55. inimicos] inimicos vestros.

1986, 8. enim] *om.* — 9. in tenebris] tenebre. — 13. quae] quem. — 17. de isto] iste. — 28. est] est necesse. — 31. Christum] Iesum. — 44. scandalum] *add. supra.* — 45. relinques] relinquis. — 48. est?] est, quomodo est in Christo? — 49. aut Christum] . . . Christum. — 55. se vel] se in.

1987, 4. eius sanguinem] sanguinem eius. — 6. hic] iste. — 7. (*itemque in lin. 9*) duodecim] xii (Cf. *add. supra.*). — 13. ire] abire. — 13. vobis necessarius ego sum] ego vobis sum necessarius. — 23. unitate] unitate (*corr. ex unitatem*). — 26. fraterna est, qualis apparuit in istis?] est fraterna apparuit in istis Donatistis. — 30. o] *om.* — 32. eis] illis. — 38. diligentibus] diligendam. — 42. in dilectione] dilectione. — 55. lapis iste] ille lapis. — 56. est] *om.* — 57. maritali] mortali.

1988, 6. si sunt] sunt. — 11. tenuit] obtinuit. — 15. millibus fidelium mundus impletus est] in milibus fidelium in mundo adimpletum est. — 18. constituta] posita. — 21. Isaias] Ysaïas. — 27. Olympum] olimpum. — 29. norunt] noverunt. — 31. dicitur] dicit. — 34. frangit] confringit. — 39. nolo mireris] non mireris. — 46. ab eo versiculo] ab eo quod scriptum est (*haec verba minio perducta sunt*). — 46. (*in marg.*) Item sermo S. Aug. — 47. ad istum] ad id. — 49. sicut et ipse manet in aeternum] *om.* — 51. de] in. — 54. valent] *corr. ex* valeant.

1989, 4. resurrexisse] *corr. ex* surrexisse. — 8. et invenit] invenit. — 10. fuisse] esse. — 11. Filium Dei] dei filium. — 14. aperuit] aperuit Iesus. — 21. eum non] non eum. — 23. agnoscit] cognoscit. — 28. quot] quod. — 30. occiderant] occiderunt. — 31. ipsis] ipsos. — 31. quod] quoniam. — 33. quia] quae. — 34. firmamentum] firmamenta. — 35. audet] audeat. — 35. quoquomodo] quomodo. — 38. in quo quod] in quo. — 39. nos non] non. — 39. sed quod] et quod. — 41. faciemus] facimus. — 48. textum Scripturarum] scripturam. — 55. nos nossemus] nossemus.

1990, 1. hoc] sed. — 3. pati Christum] Christum pati. — 12. alia nubit] alii nubunt. — 13. fiunt] *corr. ex fi. unt.* — 15. ibi] ubi. — 15. carne] *corr. ex cane.* — 16. carnem ipsam cum commendaret] cum carnem ipsam commendaret. — 22. utquid] quid. — 26. hebdomadis] ebdomadis. — 27. propterea] propter hoc. — 30. pati Christum] Christum pati. — 35. (*itemque in lin. 36*) dubitet] dubitat. — 41. dum omnes tenet] cum omnes non tenet. — 44. inducant] seducant. — 45. iterum] rursum. — 46. et] *om.* — 47. manifestata est et ecclesia] manifestum est in ecclesia. — 48. remissio] *corr. ex remissionem.* — 50. audit stultus, vanus, et] audi stultos et vanos et. — 51. videt] vident. — 52. clauditi?] claudunt. — 55. eis] *add. supra.*

1991, 1. occisus est rex noster] rex noster occisus est. — 2-3. quasi oderint civitatem ubi occisus est Dominus noster] *om.* — 3-4. invenerunt in terra] in terra invenerunt. — 4. eum] *om.* — 5. quia] quem. — 7. Deum] Dominum. — 10. at] et. — 12. incipiens] *om.* — 14. communionem] communicationem. — 15. ait ille] ipse ait. — 16. mitto] mittam. — 24. mittere] *corr., fortasse ex mittem.* — 25. inchoata est] inchoat. — 27. duodenarius] *corr., fortasse ex duordenarius.* — 36. illos] *om.* — 38. sonabant] *corr., fortasse ex sanabant.* — 39. linguae] *om.* — 41. civitati] illi civitati. — 42-43. remansisse ad duas linguas] ad duas linguas remansisse. — 44. Christus] *corr. ex Christum.* — 46. Spiritus Dei] spiritus sancti. — 46-47. et credamus] ut credamus. — 50. forte] forte et. — 50. venerunt] venerint. — 52. exiit] exivit.

1992, 1. est, non] *corr. ex est, et non.* — 3. ad quam] quo. — 7. amemus] diligimus. — 8. quia] si. — 9. scindimus] conscindimus. — 11. dimissis] remissis (*in ras.*). — 13. per Augustini] Augustini. — 14. videris] videtis. — 18. verbis ubera] ubera (*corr. ex verba*). — 26. et hic] et ait hic. — 33-34. quot annorum? putamusne maior] quod annorum putamus? ne maior. — 41. terra] terram. — 42. imo et est] immo est. — 42-43. ante Abraham ego fui] ante ego fui. — 46. futurum] futurus. — 50. finietur] finitur. — 50. ille unus] unus. — 52. quod] quot. — 53. ipso] ipso die. — 54. quando] quomodo. — 55. Domino] a domino.

1993, 1. in aeternitate genitus] *om.* — 2. termino] fine. — 3. hoc] et. — 9. fiunt] sunt. — 16. nobiscum] vobiscum. — 17. est fortis] fortis est. — 26. perdidistis] perdetis. — 28. ut coronemini] et coronemini. — 29. cadatis in pugna] in pugna cadatis. — 35. non commendant?] com-

mendant.—36. salvos facit] facit salvos.—41. timebant] tenebant.—44. parat nos ergo inhabitari charitate] separat nos a caritate dei amor mundi.—46. qua] quo.—53. si silvam] silvam.—53. exstirpat] extirpat.—55. exstirpare] extirpare.

1994, 1. exstirpatorem silvae] exstirpantem (*sic*) silvam.—2. sunt in mundo] in mundo sunt.—12-13. iam renati sunt] sunt renati.—16. sacramenta] sacramenta (*add. in marg. alia manus* vel sarmenta).—16. damnationem] damnationem nostram.—17. est] *om.*—17. charitatis] caritatis (*corr. ex caritatem*).—24. radicabitur] radicatur.—27. dixit] dixi.—28. neque] nec.—32. ex patre] a patre.—32. mundo sunt] mundo.—33. desideria] concupiscentia.—35. quare non amem quod fecit Deus?] *om.*—39. Dominus noster Iesus Christus. Assumpsit carnem] Christus in mundum natus est. ne amemus mundum dominus noster Iesus Christus assumpsit carnem.—46. non] sed non.—49. es] *om.*—49. est] *om.*—52. ipsius?] suum.

1995, 4. et] *om.*—7. in mundo sunt] sunt in mundo.—14. amem] ames.—15. dei sit] sit dei.—17. sunt tibi] tibi sunt.—17. est ille] ille est.—19. subrepat] surrepat (*corr. ex subrepat*).—20. vobis] nobis.—21. sit] esset.—22. inebriantur] inebriabuntur.—24. contemnitur] contempnitur.—28. sed approbare et laudare ut ames Creatorem] sed vult te approbare et laudare creaturam ut ames creatorem.—29. faceret] fecerit.—29. annulum] anulum (*corr. ex anullum. Itemque in lin. 30 et 31*).—34. annulus] anulus.—35. qualis esset? Quis non detestaretur] qualis esset qui non detestaretur.—36. adulterinum] adulterum.—38. (*bis*) annulum] anulum.—40. arrham] arram (*itemque in lin. 41*).—42. arrha] arra.—42. omnia ista] ista omnia.—46. nonne tuus amor adulterinus deputabitur] delinquis.—49. terra] terram.—50. habitatores] et habitatores.—51. inhabitantes] habitantes.—53. bona domus] pulchra domus (*add. supra m¹ (?) vel bona*).—53. marmorata] murata.—54. pulchre laqueata] pulchra, laqueata.—57. inhabitatores] inabitatores.

1996, 3. est cor] cor est.—5. ipsi] isti.—6. desiderium] et desiderium.—12. ista dilectione] istae dilectiones.—14. probamini] probabimini.—20. nobis] *om.*—21. carnis est] carnis.—27. est] *om.*—29. tentare] et temptare.—30. hoc est desiderium] hoc, et desiderium.—31. dedit deus] deus dedit.—32. obtulit] optulit.—32. non] num.—32. fecerunt] fecerint.—42. unde] hoc unde.—44. signa] sygna.

—51. diabolo] *corr. ex* diabulo. —55. solo pane] pane solo. —58. quia] *om.* —58-59. ut suscipiant te] *om.*

1997, 1. curiositate] curiositatem. —16. tentabis] temptabo. —16. tuum] *om.* —21. elevavit eum] eum levavit. —22. omnia] omnia regna. —22. prostratus] procidens. —32. facietis] facitis. —33. venienti] veniendi. —35. est aeternus] aeternus est. —40. vultis] velitis. —41. nec] neque. —44. est] *om.* —45. saeculi quae] et superbia vitae quae. —47. desideria] concupiscentia. —48. et] *om.* —50. De eo quod sequitur] ab eo quod scriptum est. —51. unctio ipsius] et non habetis necessitatem ut aliquis doceat vos. unctio eius. —51. (*in marg. minio scripta*) Item sermo beati aug. —58. crementum] incrementum.

1998, 2. vult] non vult. —4. avide] *in ras.* —8. salute nostra] nostra salute. —16. se tangere] tangere se. —25. contactus] cum tactus. —26. mundat] mundet? —29. arte] *in ras.* —38. usque quo] quo usque. —43. videt et] *corr. ex* et videt. —47. novissima est] novissima hora est. —47. horam] hora. —53. ne] et ne. —53. fierent] fuerint. —53. non esse horam novissimam] novissimam horam non esse. —56. posset] potest. —58. et exponit] exponens.

1999, 10-11. et designaturus est antichristos] antichristos et desynaturus est. —11. eos nunc. Et interrogare] eos. Nunc interrogare. —18. sit contrarius] contrarius sit. —18. advertitis] advertetis. —19. intelligitis] intelligetis. —21. exire nullo modo] nullo modo exire. —23. membrum] membrum eius. —23. sibi sunt membra] sunt membra sibi. —32. quandoquidem] quando. —35-36. evomuntur tunc relevatur] evomuntur humores mali relevatur. —38. proicit] proicit. —39. sed] *om.* —47. baptismum] baptisma. —48. quidquid] quicquid. —53. volabunt] evolabunt. —57. charissimi] karissimi. —58. forte] foras. —59. non sint contrarii] contrarii.

2000, 1. qui non sunt] hoc sunt enim. —2. foris. Sed] foris, quia de nobis fuerant. Sed. —2. de voluntate] voluntate. —9-10. omnes erant] erant omnes. —12. sed] *om.* —13. a sancto] *om.* —14. spiritus sanctus est] est spiritus sanctus. —16. dicit] *om.* —16. cognoscere] cognoscent. —17. esse] est. —23. autem mendacium] mendacium autem. —27. aduletis] adulemini. —31. non est] non sit. —32. habet Christus] Christus. —33. cum] et cum. —35. Elias] Helias. —37. habet] *om.* —37. Iesus: Christus autem] Iesus Christus. Christus autem. —40. unctus] unus. —41. iste] ille. —44. lapis] lapis ille. —56. quidquid] quicquid.

2001, 1. ecclesiae] *om.* — 2. designavit] sic desygnavit. — 6. quod] quia. — 12-13. vobis velim] nobis velit. — 14. interrogamus] interrogemus. — 14. sit Christus] Christus sit. — 20. non a nobis exivimus] illi non a nobis nec nos exivimus ab ipsis. — 25. a nobis exierunt] exierunt a nobis. — 33. dubitantium] dubitantibus. — 47. coarctat] coartat. — 53. designavit] desygnavit. — 58. vitam interroga] interroga vitam.

2002, 4. hoc in scriptura?] hoc? in scripturis. — 6. ipsos] istos. — 10. talibus] de talibus. — 11. Hypocritae] iypocrite. — 13. profertis] affertis. — 13. ego] et ego. — 14. malam ibi] ibi malam. — 16. enim] *om.* — 17. fructu] fructu suo. — 19. mendax] mendax est antichristus. — 21. exiisse] exisse. — 22. qui minime foras exierunt] quod foras exierint. — 26. numerare] enumerare. — 26. contraria] si contraria. — 28. quidquid] quicquid. — 29-30. contrarius est Christo] Christo contrarius est. — 30. resistant isti] isti resistant. — 31. evenit] eveniat. — 36. te dicere] dicere. — 40. quotidie] cottidie. — 45. audisti] audistis. — 46. hymnus] ymnus. — 47. qui ab] qui eos ab. — 50. quidquid] quicquid (*ita infra passim*). — 52. audisti] audistis (*itemque in lin. 53*). — 57. deus fecit] fecit deus.

2003, 2. venti] *om.* — 7. et grana] grana. — 10. ne] non. — 20. enim] et enim. — 20. mercedem quaereres] quaereres mercedem. — 24. me video] video me. — 26. ipsa] ista. — 30. ad quam ergo] quam ergo accipiam. — 31. deficiebas] vivebas. — 36. te] *om.* — 37. quanto] tanto. — 38. quando] quanto. — 45. haec est] est haec. — 45. quaedam merces] merces quaedam. — 58. vitam aeternam] vita aeterna. — 59. scripsi] scribo.

2004, 2-3. quidquid libet] quidlibet. — 3. crastina] crastino. — 6. faciam] faciat. — 7. exhorresce] exorresce. — 10. scripsi] scribo. — 11. ut] et. — 11. et unctio] et nos unctionem. — 15. fuerit] manet. — 17. arescit] exaescit. — 18. vos doceat] doceat vos. — 19. vos] *om.* — 20. eius] ipsius. — 23. illius] ipsius. — 27. ipsius] eius. — 32. quemquam] quemquam hominem. — 41. habet . . . docet] habent . . . docent. — 42. ait et ipse] et ipse ait. — 42. evangelio] evangelio suo. — 44. vobis ergo] ergo vobis. — 45. etsi] si. — 46. non sit nullus] cum nullus sit. — 47. unctio] unctioque. — 47. corde ne] corde tuo ne. — 51. unctio illius] illius unctio. — 52. ista verba] ista. — 54. aquam et] tanquam.

2005, 8. vos] nos. — 9. (*in marg. minio scripta* Item eiusdem.) — 10. De eo quod sequitur] Ab eo quod scriptum est. — 10. et verax] unctio ipsius docet vos de omnibus et verax. — 16. ipsa] ipsius. — 22. spiritum] per (*add. supra m¹*) spiritum. — 25. audiant] audiunt. — 28. deo locum] locum deo. — 34. sed] non, sed. — 36. oppugnat] obpugnat (*itemque in lin. 38*). — 37. non] sed. — 39. quam audistis] eius quam audit. — 41. ipse] *om.* — 42. domini] dei. — 44. manete] permanete. — 47. videtis] videte. — 50. haec] hoc. — 53. universae] omni.

2006, 1. signis] sygnis. — 2. et] *om.* — 8. insultatur] insultantur. — 9. paratus] praeparatus. — 13. estis] eritis. — 17. autem est] est autem. — 18. non] *in ras.* — 19. promissionem] promissorem. — 22. non tu] tu non. — 27. comparentur] conparentur. — 29. est] *om.* — 36. est] *om.* — 39. absorbebitur] absorbetur. — 40. victoriam] victoria. — 41. lucta] luctatio. — 42. triumphus] et triumphus. — 45. qui] quis. — 47. hortatore] protectore (*corr. ex protectione*). — 47. adversum] adversus. — 48. si] *om.* — 48. diabolum] et diabolum. — 49. et si] si. — 50. hostis est] est hostis. — 50. quot palmarum? considerate quo] quod palmarum sit considerate, et quo. — 53. ipse] *om.* — 56. quos? In quibus] sed quos nisi in quibus.

2007, 1. Dei] domini. — 2. veluti] velut. — 3. voluntati] voluntate. — 6. vicit et] *om.* — 7. et in Iob] et Iob (*corr. ex et in Iob*). — 8. Adam] ipse. — 10. immiserat] inmiserat. — 14. quid] quod. — 38. contemnit] contempnit. — 45. quis] quid. — 48. odio] ideo. — 49. significatione] sygnificatione. — 50. quia] qui. — 54. infirmitate] infirmitatibus.

2008, 2. quid ergo nos? iam nati] quid ergo? iam nos nati. — 3. nunc] iam nunc. — 6. erimus aliud] erit aliud. — 7. audite quod] audi quod. — 9. sicut] sicuti. — 12. quid vocatur. Est quod vocatur] quod vocatus (*corr., fortasse ex vocatur*) est. — 19. esse] esse se. — 19. aequalis] aequalem. — 20. Christum] Christus. — 21. aequalem patri, non possunt] aequale (*corr. ex aequali*) patri. Hoc non possunt. — 22-23. secundum . . . caro factum est] quia in die iudicii caro factum est. — 25. sed] sed et. — 26. ponit] *add. supra.* — 28. et si] si. — 32. ponet] ponit. — 33. dicet] dicit. — 34. patris mei] *om.* — 35. dicet] *om.* — 44. solis et lunae, pulchritudinem] stellarum, lunae, pulchritudinem. — 51. vel ipse] *add. in marg.* — 52. eius qui] rei quae. —

52. quid] *om.*—53. potest dici] dici potest.—53. imparibus] in paribus.—54-55. ipsius, redeamus ad illam unctionem] *om.*—55. quod] quae.

2009, 2. quam] quia.—6. differendo] *corr. ex* differendo.—7. capacem] capatiorem.—8. videte] vide.—10. ait enim] *om.*—10. iam] *om.*—14. supernae] *add. supra.*—19. exerceamur] *corr. ex* exercemur.—22. exinani] exinaniendum.—24. pones] ponis.—25. portabat] portat.—26. mundandum] mutandum.—27. maledicamus] mel dicamus.—28. dicimus] dicamus.—30. syllabae] sillabae.—31. volumus] volumus.—37. salvi] enim salvi.—44. spem hanc] hanc spem.—48. nolentem] nolente.—49. te] teipsum.—50. inhabitet] habitet.—53. sicut] sicut canitur.—55. aliquid agis] agis aliquid.—56. qui] enim qui.

2010, 4. est iniquitas] iniquitas est.—7. ipso] illo.—8. esset et] esset.—9. esset illi] illi esset.—12-19. eum. Magna ista quaestio . . . et vidimus et cognovimus] eum. Non est mirum non eum vidimus, si visuri sumus. Non eum cognovimus, sed cognituri sumus. Credimus in eum quem non cognovimus, an forte ex fide cognovimus et specie? Magna ista quaestio: omnis qui peccat non vidit eum nec cognovit eum. Nondum cognovimus sed in fide videmus et cognovimus.—22. non] nondum.—25. nostra iustitia] iusticia nostra.—29. credit] credidit (*corr. ex* credit).—30. fidem] finem.—33. ille] ille iustus est.—38. ad] in.—44. est ista] ista est.—44. centum cubitus] cubitus centum.—45. sic] sicut.—54. modulo] modo.—57. castus] castus est.—58. et ipse] et ille.—58. sed ipse] sed ille.

2011, 1. videmus] vidimus.—1. cum] tunc.—2. fuerit] erit.—3. aequabitur] aequabimur.—5. ab illo] iusticia nostra ab illo.—9. natus, fit filius] natus sit, filius.—12. Iudae] Iudei.—16-17. et sic eris filius imitando. Et si diabolum] imitando et si superbiendo diabolum.—18. exstitit] extitit.—21. est] es.—23. quando] quantum.—29. ego] ergo.—30. Christum] Christus.—34. ista nativitas] nativitas ista.—46. nos ipsos] ipsi nos.—46. in nobis non est] non est in nobis.—50. de] ex.—51. nati sumus] sumus nati.—54. Ioannes] ipse Iohannes.—56. dixit] dicit.

2012, 1. intentam] intantam (*sic*).—3. inde] inde Dominus.—5. *in marg. minio scripta* Item sermo beati Aug.—5. in eo quod sequitur] ab eo quod scriptum est.—6. facit peccatum; usque] peccat quia

semen eius in eo manet. — 6. non] filioli non. — 7. et lingua] *om.* — 10. quia] qui. — 11. adfuitis intente] intenti affuistis. — 12. dicat] dicatur. — 18. coarctavit] coartat. — 21. dixerit se] se dixerit. — 22. alia] illa. — 27. et] *om.* — 46. supra] super. — 49. recumbere] discumbere. — 54. Deus, et] Deus, et (et *add. supra*). — 59. discernas: peccatum] discernas peccatum ab iniquitate: peccatum.

2013, 15. non habet peccatum] peccatum (*corr. ex peccata*) non habet. — 18. instrinxit] instruxit. — 24. illud] hoc. — 26. quod est] quod est hoc. — 42. cogitet] ut cogitet. — 44. sollicitus] sollicitus. — 50. ergo] ergo forte.

2014, 4. quae] *corr. ex quem.* — 5. quid de] *in ras., fortasse corr. m².* — 8. charitas] karitas. — 10. (*bis*) charitatem] karitatem. — 12. nisi] quam (*add. supra*). — 15. crederet] crediderit. — 18. ecce] et ecce. — 21-22. dicebat haec] haec dicebat. — 25. ut reddas] quod reddas. — 25. ut retribuat] quod retribuat. — 35. mortuus] mortuus est. — 39. secuti] sed et. — 40. fixo] flexo. — 42. et apostolum] apostolum. — 47. pro fratribus etiam] etiam pro fratribus. — 54. manere] manere dum.

2015, 1. mihi] me. — 4. ministrarunt] ministraverunt. — 5. sua] *in ras.* — 6. Zacchaeus] Zacheus. — 11. quadruplum reddam] reddo quadruplum. — 15. quia] *add. supra.* — 18. Elias] helyas. — 18. illius] ipsius. — 21. mittitur] emittitur. — 25. manifestissime positam] positam manifestissime. — 32. ascensuro] *in ras.* — 34. fac pro] fac hoc pro. — 40. vestra] *om.* — 47. characterem] characterem. — 52. autem] *om.* — 55. in ea nobis] nobis in ea. — 57. illuc] illo.

2016, 2. erit] eris. — 3. nosmetipsos] nosipsos. — 6. quia] quia sicut. — 9. dixit aliquid] aliquid dixit. — 10. et] et non. — 16. dicat hoc] hic adhuc. — 22. filios] inter filios. — 22. omnes] homines. — 27. nati ex Deo] ex deo nati. — 28. quidquid] quicquid. — 31. implevit] implebit (*littera b in ras.*). — 33. quam] ubi. — 33. quaesisse] *om.* — 35. habebat] *corr. ex habeat.* — 40. amplectemur] amplectimur. — 45. videbis] vides. — 53. non sicut] sicut.

2017, 4. ex hoc] hoc. — 12. manus] munus. — 13. respexit] aspexit. — 19. apparuit] aparuit (*itemque in lin. 20*). — 21-22. facta et cor] facta. Cor. — 25. nos] vos. — 26. vobis] *corr. ex vos.* — 27. Deus] *in ras., fortasse corr. ex dñs.* — 37. nostrorum peccatorum] peccatorum nostrorum. — 41. fratrem] fratres. — 42. nos] vos. — 42. quid nos]

quid. — 43. scimus] scitis. — 49. apparebit] aparebit. — 49. in gloria] gloria eius. — 52. expectant] expectamus. — 54. manet] manebit. — 55. non] *om.* — 55. audite] audi. — 56. quod] quid.

2018, 2-3. in corde suo contempturus est] contempturus est in corde suo. — 4. Domino] Deo. — 6. quia] quoniam (*itemque in lin. 10*). — 11. animam suam posuit] posuit animam suam. — 11-12. animas pro fratribus] pro fratribus animas. — 13. noveritis] noveritis fratres. — 17. tollet] tollit. — 19. clarificaturus] glorificaturus. — 22. incipit] incipit ipsa. — 25. charitatem] hac caritate. — 31. effocetur] offocetur. — 34. facultates] substantiam. — 48. tuus] *om.* — 49. sanguine Christi] Christi sanguine. — 53. hoc tibi] tibi hoc. — 58. tu] *om.* — 59. ostendis te] ostendis.

2019, 7. manifestatum] manifestum. — 11. commendetur] commendatur. — 15. extirpate] extirpantes. — 15. effocetur] offocetur. — 20. *in marg. minio scripta* Item eiusdem. — 20. In illud, Et in hoc] Ab eo quod scriptum est: In hoc. — 21-22. Et hic est Antichristus de quo audistis] omnis spiritus qui confitetur Iesum Christum in carne venisse ex Deo est. — 29. ipso] illo. — 30. corde] cordi. — 40. animas] animam. — 50. hic incipit] incipiat. — 51. tribuat] quisque tribuat. — 57. tuam] *om.* — 57. ponere pro fratribus] pro fratribus ponere. — 58. tuis] *om.* — 58. multa] *om.*

2020, 1. talia multa] multa talia. — 4. ponere pro fratribus suis] pro fratribus ponere. — 5. animam] animas. — 12. et lingua] neque lingua. — 17. se] *om.* — 27. autem] enim. — 27. diiudicer] iudicer. — 40. revocemur] revocemus. — 42. revocemur] *corr. ex* revocemus. — 44. unusquisque] unusquisque nostrum. — 49. unusquisque, ait] ait, unusquisque — 53. cognoscimus] cognoscitur. — 57. ipse] *om.*

2021, 4. dextera] dextera tua. — 6. operatur] operante. — 7. debet] enim debet. — 7. nec] ne. — 8. dilectione] de dilectione. — 10. es] esse. — 12. hominum] humanum. — 13. quem] que. — 14. persuadeamus] *corr. ex* persuademus. — 16. facimus] fecimus. — 17. sit] est. — 17. maior est] *add. in marg.* — 19. si potes] non potes. — 21. a facie tua quo] quo a facie tua. — 22. qua] quo. — 22. ut] et. — 25. fugies] fugiet. — 27. fuge] confuge. — 29. es tu] tu es. — 32. iactare] ponere. — 36. corde] cordi. — 37. si] et si. — 43. quidquid] quicquid (*itemque in lin. 46 et 53*). — 43. accipiemus ab eo] ab eo accipiemus. — 48. repetendum] recipiendum. — 58. occurrit] incurrit.

2022, 4. quis quod] quisque quod. — 9. angustamini] angustiamini. — 9. nobis] vobis. — 18. designatum] desygnatum. — 20. attendas] adtendas. — 20. videtur] est. — 21. quidquid] quicquid (*itemque in lin. 52*). — 24. postulaverimus] postulaverit. — 24. accipiemus] accipit. — 29. ex Deo natus est] natus est ex deo. — 35. peccatum non haberent] non haberent peccatum. — 38. venissem] venirem. — 41-42. quo . . . quo] quod . . . quod. — 46. nosmetipsos] nosipsos. — 49. hic] hinc. — 50. nos non] non nos. — 54. attendat] adtendat. — 56. qui] quia. — 58. habemus] habeamus. — 58. verumtamen] veruntamen.

2023, 1. conscientiae] *corr. ex cor* . . . — 4. petisse apostolum] apostolum petisse. — 8. auferret eum] auferretur (*corr. ex auferetur*). — 9. in infirmitate] *corr. ex infirmitate (itemque in lin. 27)*. — 11. auferretur] *corr. ex auferetur (itemque in lin. 51)*. — 11. illo] eo. — 21. rursus] rursum. — 30. auferri] auferre. — 32. non est exauditus] exauditus non est. — 40. dubitet] dubitat. — 47. et ipsi Iob feminam propterea] qui ad ipsum Iob propterea feminam. — 51. stimulus] *corr. ex stimulis*. — 53. est exauditus] exauditus est. — 53. etsi] *om.* — 56. ille] iste. — 58. sed] *om.* — 58. evangelio] evangelio invenimus.

2024, 7. est] *om.* — 8. dicamus] dicimus. — 15. aquam] *om.* — 22. eos . . . eorum] illos . . . illorum. — 25. praeda factus est] factus est praeda. — 31-32. in sectione. — 34. attendit] adtendit. — 35. sanitatem] salutem. — 38. interpellat] postulat pro nobis. — 47. expedit] tibi expedit. — 50. et] *add. supra*. — 51. quidquid] ergo quicquid. — 54. ubi] ubi ipse.

2025, 2-3. et qui servaverit mandatum eius] *om.* — 10. Paulus] *om.* — 13. non] *om.* — 14. de dilectione] dilectione. — 15. quidquid] quicquid. — 16. ait, hoc est] est, ait. — 17. mandatum eius] mandatum. — 17. nomini] in nomine. — 19. ipse] ille. — 22. valde enim] enim valde. — 26. tempori opportuna] tempore opportuno. — 31. expectatur] expectatur. — 38. haec] *om.* — 38. praesentiae] praesentium. — 40. se] *om.* — 43. pacis et] pacis. — 44. attendat] adtendat. — 45. attendit] adtendit. — 46. copulamur] *corr. ex compulamur*. — 50. non] *om.* — 52. norunt] noverunt. — 56. si ergo] sic ergo. — 56-57. omnes . . . diligunt . . . habent] omnis . . . diligit . . . habet. — 58. es] est.

2026, 1-2. ne . . . habes . . . non habes] ne . . . habeas . . . non habeas. — 11. et quis] quis. — 12. nobis proposuit] proposuit

nobis. — 14. discernamus] discernimus. — 14. primo] primum. — 15. attendite] attente. — 18. nomine aquae] aquae nomine. — 21. aquae vivae fluent de ventre eius] de ventre eius fluent aquae vivae. — 24. qui in eum erant credituri] credentes in eum. — 25. ait] ait matheus. — 26. clarificatus] glorificatus. — 29. Pentecostes] pentecosten. — 30. exspectabatur] expectabatur. — 30. clarificatio] glorificatio. — 31. clarificaretur] glorificaretur. — 32. praepararent] *corr. ex* praeparent. — 34. fluent de ventre eius] de ventre eius fluent. — 37. hi] *om.* — 38. erant credituri] credituri erant. — 38. ergo] igitur. — 38. significat] sygnificat. — 40. invisibilis] invisibilis est. — 42. et] *add. supra.* — 42. est] est enim. — 45. praecidunt] praeciduntur. — 46. paleae] palea. — 48. significatus] sygnificatus. — 49. et testantur] attestantur. — 50. Salomonis] Salemonis.

2027, 3. evangelico testimonio] testimonio evangelico. — 4. spiritu] spiritu sancto. — 4. hi] *om.* — 8. te] *om.* — 10. ne credideris] non credideris. — 16. hic quid] quid hic. — 19. probō] probabo (*corr. ex* probō). — 29. nihilominus non] nichilominus. — 33. confitentur] confitetur (*itemque in lin. 37*). — 34. se forte] forte se. — 35. nos] et nos. — 38. Arianis] arrianis. — 38. confitentur] *corr. ex* confitetur. — 42. Cataphrygas] catafrigas. — 55-56. nec nos] nos non (*non add. supra*).

2028, 1. non] et non. — 3. et] *corr., fortasse ex* vel. — 5-6. quis est . . . venisse?] *om.* — 8. invenimus] inveniemus. — 9. haereses] hereses (*corr. ex* heresses). — 15. huc] *om.* — 16. recederet] discederet. — 27. confiteor] profiteor. — 29. negas corde] corde negas. — 31. in carne Christus] Christus in carne. — 34. tu] tu autem. — 38. resonent] sonent. — 38. sonant] sonent. — 38. ibi est] est ibi. — 43. non] *add. supra.* — 47. manifestum] manifestatum. — 47. cognoscamus] agnoscamus. — 48. sunt] *om.* — 53. negat] negas. — 56. dirumpis] dirumpis.

2029, 5. unum de] unum ex. — 6. sic] sic homines. — 7. solvitur? . . . docetur?] solvit? . . . docet? — 10. furatur] *corr. ex* furantur. — 10. sic] *om.* — 13. facere nolite] nolite facere. — 18. verba] verbis (*in ras.*). — 19. multa nos cogit] cogit nos multa. — 26. *in marg. minio scripta* Item sermo beati Aug. — 27. sequitur] scriptum est. — 27. filioli] filioli, et vicistis eum. — 28. Deum nemo vidit umquam] et misit filium suum litatorem pro peccatis nostris. — 31. eremus] heremus. — 31. Israel] israhel. — 33. duce Deo] deo duce (*deo add.*

supra). — 33. iussio] visio. — 34. circumierunt] circuierunt. — 39. saepe] sepe (*corr. ex spe*). — 39. nobis commemorantibus] commemorantibus nobis. — 42. et tentationibus] temptationibus. — 43. eremo] heremo. — 45. ponere] *add. supra*. — 45. abundantius] habundantius. — 50. ut dimittat] dimittat. — 51. peccata quae] peccata nostra qua. — 53. odium] odio. — 56. vobis] vobiscum.

2030, 2. qua charitate fit] quia caritate fit. — 5. vos, inquit, ex deo estis] estis vos ex deo. — 9. omnes] *corr. ex omnis*. — 15-16. poterat filius . . . ponere] filius . . . ponere poterat. — 19. iste] ipse. — 24. arrogantia superbiae] arrogantiae superbia (*litterae -ia in ras.*). — 27. vicistis] vicistis eum. — 30. esto] ergo. — 31. Dominum] deum. — 32. regat] te regat. — 37. cognoscitis] cognoscetis. — 38. hi] hii. — 40. contra] loquuntur contra. — 45. veritatis] *corr. ex veritas*. — 46. credis Christo] Christo credis. — 50. sentias] sentiat. — 50. cum viro habet. Quotidie] cum viro loquitur vel causam habet cottidie.

2031, 3-4. non minabatur] ista passus est. — 7. morieris] moriaris. — 11. ex] et in. — 13. audit nos] nos audit. — 15. antichristos] antichristum. — 19. nos audit] audit nos. — 22. et haec] haec. — 22. spiritus] *om.* — 25. homo monet?] hoc monet. — 29. novit] cognovit. — 32. istas] omnes. — 34. voce spiritus] spiritu. — 35. nihil . . . deberemus] *om.* — 43. vobis] nobis. — 44. Deus dilectio] dilectio Deus. — 45. donavit Deus dilectionem] *om.* — 53. modo] modo ergo. — 53. est enim] et enim. — 54. filius] filius deus. — 54. sanctus] sanctus deus. — 55. deus ex deo] ex deo est.

2032, 3. deo est] deo. — 15. habere] et habere. — 15. potest] esse potest. — 16. malus] malus esse (*itemque in lin. 20, 23, 24, et 26*). — 29. ad hunc] adhuc. — 33. prior ille] ille prior. — 34. redamandum] reamandum (*corr. ex redamandum*). — 35. sic] *add. supra*. — 36. iniquitatem] iniquitates (*itemque in lin. 37*). — 37. aegrotos] egros. — 40. ipsum] eum. — 42. potest habere] habere potest. — 43. in nos] in nobis (*in ras.*). — 44. unde] *add. supra*. — 45. nos] nobis. — 45. unicum] unigenitum. — 46. sic et] sicut. — 48. eum] illum. — 48. et cum] cum. — 49. pater] pater, et. — 51. est Iudas] Iudas. — 51. ergo traditur] traditur ergo. — 54. eum] illum. — 56. seipsum] semetipsum.

2033, 4. in proditione] proditione. — 7. patrem] Deum patrem. — 13. qua redempti sumus] *om.* — 18. eam intentionibus si] intentionibus si eam. — 27. plagas et] plagas. — 31. multa] multa sepe. — 32. pro-

cedunt] *corr. ex* produunt. — 43. misit unigenitum] unigenitum misit. — 52. invicem diligere] diligere invicem. — 53. inquit] *om.*

2034, 1. vellemus] velimus. — 8. locos] loca. — 8. velut] et velut. — 16. ducunt] *corr. ex* dicunt. — 18. inquit] *om.* — 22. intellectu] intellectum. — 27. aliquos] *corr. ex* aliquis. — 28. effodi] effudi. — 30-31. inqua] qua (*itemque iterum in lin. 31*). — 35. dat Dominus] dominus dat. — 37. vasculum] vasculum caelatum. — 37. anaglyphum] anaglyphum. — 43. vellet] *corr. ex* velit. — 44. charitas vobis] vobis caritas. — 45. habete, possidete] habere (*corr. ex* habete), possidete. — 48. commemoratur] *corr. ex* memoratur. — 51. nec] ne. — 56. tuum] *om.* — 56. non das] *add. supra.* — 59. corrigendum] corripiendum.

2035, 1. delectent] delectentur. — 1. si] *om.* — 7. correctionis dilectionem] correctionem dilectionis. — 8. demonstrata] monstrata. — 9. Dominum. Species illa] dominum in specie. — 14. ad] sed ad. — 33. cognoscit] cognoscet. — 33. vindicat] vindicat (*in ras.*). — 36. ne . . . deleatur] nec . . . deletur. — 38. quo] *corr. ex* in quo. — 40. *in marg. minio scripta* Item eiusdem. — 41. De eo quod sequitur] Ab eo quod scriptum est. — 41-42. Si diligamus . . . manebit] Deum nemo vidit umquam. — 42. Deus dilectio est, et] *om.* — 43-44. in eo] in eo manet. — 45. verbum] verbum est.

2036, 6. vacantes] cantantes. — 10. quodque] quod ei. — 13. istis] *add. supra.* — 18. videntur] viderentur. — 19. interiori] interiore. — 20. membra] menbra. — 35. hebebis (*perperam impressum*)] habebis. — 41. quod bonum] bonum quod. — 45. volunt sibi] sibi volunt. — 47. faciens] fac. — 48. susum] sursum (*corr. ex* susum; *itemque in lin. 49 et 50*). — 48. faciens] facias. — 48. *Dubia lectio*: iusum aut visum. *Sed in lin. 49 procul dubio visum.* — 49. iusum] visum (*in ras.*). — 53. quod] quando. — 54. quidquid] quicquid. — 54. firmat] confirmat.

2037, 1. fundamentum] fundamenta. — 5. bona coram hominibus] *om.* — 8. autem] *om.* — 10. nos aliquando] aliquando nos. — 14. laudem suam sed in laudem] laude sua sed in laude. — 14. et quantum] at quantum. — 16. confitetur] confiteatur (*corr. ex* confitetur). — 16. conviciamur] confiteamur. — 23. habebat] habet et. — 26. elatus] elatus est. — 29. enim] *om.* — 35. modo illa] illa modo. — 39. panem dare egenti] dare panem esurienti. — 40. aegrotos] egrotum. — 51. charitatem] dilectionem. — 52. est datum] datum est. — 54. autem] *om.*

2038, 17. qui] cum. — 24. accipi] rebus accipi. — 24. charissimi] karissimi. — 25. benivolentiam] bonivolentiam. — 25. habet] debet. — 27. enim verbo etiam] etiam verbo. — 29. audimus] audivimus. — 31. et ad] ad. — 32. quidquid] quicquid. — 35. quaedam benivolentiae est] quadam bonivolentiae. — 36. eis quos] quod. — 42. et non] ut non. — 45. discordet] discordat. — 48. exstinguetur] extinguetur. — 49. amas] amabis. — 52. eum] cum. — 53. est tui] es tu.

2039, 5. avaritia] cupiditas est. — 15. inquit] inquis. — 19. pecorum] peccorum. — 32. cum] dum. — 33. detererent] detergerent. — 35. clamabat] clamat. — 38. potestatem tibi] *corr. ex* potestatem meam feci, potestatem tibi. — 39. ferae] *corr. ex* ferreae. — 42. infra] intra (*itemque in lin. 46 et 47*). — 42. erunt] erant. — 44. subditur] subditus est. — 45. pecora] peccora. — 55. contemptibilibus] *corr. ex* contemptilibus. — 58. lacerati] laniati. — 59. Deo? Aut erant servi] deo servi.

2040, 1. et non erant servi] et servi. — 3. et non] non. — 4. Machabaeos, agnovit, fratres et istos] ut Machabeos fratres agnovit et istos. — 6. qui dixit] sicut dicit. — 10. creatura sua] creatura. — 11. deus quosdam] quosdam deus. — 13. spiritualiter] invisibiliter vel (*vel add. supra*) spiritualiter. — 21. saeculi huius fluvius] saeculum hoc. — 21. decucurrerit] decurrerit. — 27. agnoscet] agnoscit. — 29. subditi sumus] sumus subditi. — 33. bestia] *corr. ex* bestias. — 36. esse] *om.* — 38-39. tui] te. — 42. vis semper] semper vis. — 43. invidus] invidus eris. — 44. ipsum] ipsam. — 49. homo modum] modum homo. — 49. avarior] dum avarior. — 50. pecora] peccora. — 53. facit] faciat. — 57. mortuos] mortuum.

2041, 1. ducit] ducet. — 13. martyrium] *corr. ex* martyrurum. — 13. et martyrium] martirium. — 19. intro] intra. — 26. superbus] superbia. — 28. disciplina] ad disciplinam. — 29. eleemosyna] elemosina. — 32. videt] videat. — 38. laudem subtrahis Deo] *om.* — 38. quibus eleemosynam] elemosinam. — 47. eleemosynam] elemosinam. — 54. fratres] *add. supra*.

2042, 6. cum] et cum. — 7. amas] *corr. ex* adhoc amas. — 9. vidit] videt. — 14. et nos] nos et. — 15. dicimus] nam dicimus. — 17. peccatores] nos peccatores. — 18. remaneremus] maneremus. — 20. quod] quae. — 22. contumeliis] *corr. ex* incontuliis. — 27. ipse] tibi ipse. — 31. inimici dilectio] in dilectione inimici. — 32. quae] quia. — 36. ad-

monuit] monuit. — 37. diligas inimicos] inimicos diligas. — 39. odisti. — 40. attende] attendite. — 41. remanerent] *corr. ex* remaneant. — 42. quia nesciunt] non enim sciunt. — 45. resurrexit] surrexit (*corr. ex* resurrexit). — 46-47. coeperunt cum] cepit in. — 47. nomen] in nomine. — 51. longiuscule] longuis (*sic; corr. ex* longiuscule). — 53. ideo] id est. — 53. sic] sibi. — 55. flammam] flammam. — 55. et in] in. — 56. accensa] accensus. — 59. precare] deprecare.

2043, 1. aget] agit. — 3-4. non ut] ne. — 5. phreneticis] freneticis. — 12. illud unde] unde. — 13. iniuste te] iniuste. — 15. te odit] odit te. — 15. odisti] odis. — 16-17. malo? unum] malo? cupiditas saeculi, unum. — 18. sed] si. — 19. quae, quae] quaequae. — 20. tibi facit] facit tibi. — 27. exspoliet] exspoliet. — 28. tibi utile] utile tibi. — 28. illum] ille. — 29. ut] ut et. — 31. diligamus] diligimus. — 32. perficeris] perficeris. — 34. eum] illum. — 39. quia] qui. — 45. interroga apostolum] apostolum interroga. — 49-50. qui aegrotatis] quia ad egrotos. — 50. et desperatis?] desperabatis. — 54. cuius] cui. — 54. primo] primi.

2044, 1. sic] sicut. — 3. sanari] salvari. — 4. incorruptionem et mortale hoc induerit] *om.* — 6. est] et. — 9. confessus] *add. supra a m² (?)*. — 9. quod] quoniam. — 9. est] sit. — 10. Deus] *om.* — 10-11. non multis dicamus] *om.* — 11. fuerit, non] fuerit, non multis dicamus, non. — 13. sed] et. — 13. cognovimus] cognoscimus. — 13. credidimus] credimus. — 14. quam dilectionem] dilectionem quam. — 14. Deus habet] habet deus. — 17. diceretur] diceret. — 18. et] nunquid et. — 20. in se] se. — 22. te contineat] contineat te. — 25. cadis] cades. — 26. cadit] cadet. — 32. ad eum] ad deum. — 32. mancipium] *corr. ex* man. ipsum. — 33. si omnes] omnes. — 42. vides] vide. — 46. quaeremus] *corr. ex* queremus. — 52. ad commendandam] *acom-* mendandam. — 54. confirmetis] confirmetur.

2045, 1. *in marg. minio scripta* Item sermo b. aug. — 2. de eo quod sequitur] ab eo quod dicit. — 3. nobis: usque] nobis ut fiduciam habemus in die iudicii. usque. — 3. et hoc] hoc. — 7. restare] restitisse. — 14. amarus] qui exigit dulcis non est et a quo exigitur amarus. — 19. est spiritualis] spiritualis. — 20. et naturalis] affectus et naturalis est. — 21. sugens] sugiens. — 24. etiam a] etiam. — 26. eos . . . repelli] eas . . . repellere. — 27. sed et] sed. — 33. textum] texum. — 34. solemnia] sollempnia. — 37. sanctitas] caritas. — 38. posset] possit. —

39. ut] *add. supra*. — 39-40. et magna] magna. — 44. in illo manet] in eo. — 45. et esto] esto. — 46. maneat] manet. — 46. deus manet] (manet *add. supra*). — 47. manes] mane. — 48. dicit apostolus] apostolus dicit. — 57. profeceris] proficeris.

2046, 1. in nobis dilectio] dilectio in nobis. — 3. quisquis] quisq; — 6. non possunt habere] habere non possunt. — 8. illos] et illos. — 13. in die] in diem. — 16. inquis] inquires. — 19. sua] *om.* — 21. Apostolus] Paulus Apostolus. — 25. exsequitur] exequitur. — 27. corroborantur] *corr. ex* corobantur. — 29. incipit] cepit. — 30. veniret] *corr. ex* inveniret. — 32. inventurus] iam inventurus. — 32. coronet] coronat. — 43. erue] eripe. — 52. ut aequo] et equo. — 57. hic] hanc. — 58. inquit] inquit cupio (cupio *add. supra a m² (?)*). — 59. autem] *om.*

2047, 1. agite] agere. — 7. eius] dei. — 12. aliquid impossibile] impossibile aliquid. — 13. esse homo] homo esse. — 15. dicis] dicit. — 17. dicis] *in ras.* — 21. debemus] debemus ergo. — 34. dilexit] diligit inimicos. — 38. ita] *om.* — 40. praestamus] praestemus. — 40. lacrymas] lacrimas. — 52. coeperit charitas] caritas ceperit. — 55. illa fit] fit illa. — 57. qua intret] quo intret.

2048, 6. et in hoc saeculo quis] qui. — 7. exsultet] exultet. — 12. aemulatores] amatores. — 17. dicit] dicitur. — 18. luctum] planctum. — 18. concidisti] conscidisti. — 29. quam si non curaretur] *add. supra*. — 30. ideo] *corr. ex* deo. — 32. ut] et. — 32. succedat] succidatur. — 48. si ille] ille. — 52. codices duo] duo codices. — 56. agitare] et agitare.

2049, 4. quaedam] *om.* — 5. duo] et duo. — 5. movit] intonuit. — 13. alius] alius timor. — 13. istos] ergo istos. — 14. intelligamus] intelligimus. — 22. quod] quia. — 23. in te timor] timor in te. — 27. quo] quod. — 27. gehennam] ignem aeternum. — 33. istos] *om.* — 43. adulterii] adulterina. — 43. immunditia] immundicia. — 46. interroga illam] respondeat illa. — 46. respondet] *om.* — 51. damner] damnet. — 55. his] hinc. — 55. timent] timet. — 55. Deum] *om.*

2050, 5. tameat (*perperum impressum*) te] te timeat. — 6. delectet] delectat. — 10. dicimus] diximus. — 18. captat] captat, *et m³ (?) add. supra*: a. observat. — 24. et bonam] bonam. — 24. etiam malam] quae mala est. — 28. faciem] faciem suam. — 30. faciem suam avertat] avertat faciem. — 33. coram] contra. — 35. eam] illam. — 39. puta-

mus] putas. — 43. aures] et aures. — 44. non] *add. supra.* — 45. meas aures illi] illi meas aures. — 46. aliquid potius] potius aliquid. — 49. vis] vis ut. — 50. iam] *om.* — 52. exspecta] expecta.

2051, 1. securiter] securi (*corr. ex securiter*). — 1. timet? cavebit] timet, cavet. — 2. non ne] ne non. — 4. quid?] quidem. — 5. tibias] tabulas. — 5. illa] ille. — 6. illa de timore] ille de timore dicit. — 6. sed illa] sed ille dicit. — 6. quo] quia. — 7. illa] ille. — 10. diligamus] diligimus. — 10. nos dilexit] dilexit nos. — 11. dilexisset] diligeret. — 14. diligeremus eum] eum diligeremus. — 14. diligebamus eum] diligebamus. — 21. faciem suam levare] levare faciem suam. — 22. faciet] facit. — 22. exspectat] expectat. — 23. exspectando] expectando. — 24. agere] agat. — 26. impar imparem] inpar inparem (*corr. ex parem*). — 27. et ducere] aut ducere. — 27. in illa] optet ut illa. — 28. vero] autem. — 33. est pulcher] pulcher est. — 35. deformibus pulchros] deformi pulchrum. — 41. in nobis] nobis. — 47. quia] quia deus, quia. — 51. et congrueret] congrueret. — 53. est] *om.* — 55. Isaia] Ysaia.

2052, 1. Isaia] Ysaia. — 3. adhibe] sed adhibe. — 4. exponat] *corr. ex* exponit. — 7. aequalis] se equalem. — 9. eum] *om.* — 15. amans curras, currens ames] ames curras, curris amas. — 19. in] *add. supra.* — 20. timor] timor dei. — 27. diligamus] diligimus. — 28. dicat] ut dicat. — 29. diligo] diligo deum. — 32. quia] *add. in marg.* — 35. diligit et Deum?] *om.* — 36. ipsam] *add. supra.* — 37. dilectionem] ipsam dilectionem. — 38. ergo, qui] ergo? quia. — 39. ideo. Diligendo] ideo ille diligendo. — 46. quando] siquando. — 46. si putes] putes. — 49. Deum diligit] diligit deum. — 51. potes] potest (*corr. ex potes*). — 57. ille oculus] oculus ille.

2053, 9. inhaerere] adherere. — 10. bonum est] bonum. — 11. meum est] meum. — 11. gratis] est gratis. — 14. inhaeres] heres. — 15. et donat] ut donet. — 25. dixit] *om.* — 29. si diligis eum] si imperator (*in ras.*). — 32. te diligere] diligere te. — 36. habetis huius rei] huius rei habetis. — 40. tribulationes] tribulationes ipsius. — 42. teneamus Christum] *om.* — 46. arrhas] arras. — 46. donum] *om.* — 48. *in marg. minio scripta* Item eiusdem. — 49. De eo quod Ioannes scribit] ab eo quod ait. — 53. adfuisse] affuistis. — 58. ipso] eo. — 59. sequuntur] secuntur.

2054, 3. non sic] sic non. — 4. fines (*perperam impressum*)] fides. — 6. Paulo apostolo] apostolo Paulo. — 7. quidem] enim. — 17. dixit]

dicit. — 18. quo] ad quam. — 18. dixit] dicit. — 23. peregrinabamur] *corr. ex* peregrinamur. — 23. nos movere] movere nos. — 24. venit] advenit. — 27. solo] solum. — 34. et quem] quem. — 35. te] *om.* — 36. Eliam] heliam. — 39. Simon] symon. — 39-40. non revelavit tibi caro et sanguis] caro et sanguis non revelavit tibi. — 40. est in caelis] in caelis est. — 41. prosequantur] secuntur (*corr. ex* persecuntur). — 49. filius Dei, sanctus] sanctus dei, filius. — 51. hoc Petrus] petrus hoc. — 52. Christiani] christiana. — 55. nam] namque. — 56. tu es] *om.*

2055, 2. quomodo] quodm̃. — 18. Christum] Christo. — 35. est ex Deo natus] ex deo natus est. — 42. dicebat] *corr. ex* dicebant. — 43. unus est] unicus. — 44. filium Dei] dei filium (filium *add. in marg.*). — 47. et filios] filios. — 47. Quos filios Dei?] *om.* — 49. compage] compagie. — 53. gloriatur] glorificatur. — 55. membra] membra de membro. — 58. poterit] potest.

2056, 1. quomodo, quando] quomodo non diligis Christum, quando. — 3. Cum filius Dei] cum filius. — 5. quid diligas] quod vis ut diligas. — 5. sequuntur] secuntur. — 5. te caetera] et cetera. — 6. Dicas] dicis (*corr. ex* dicas). — 9. Deum] *add. supra.* — 17. membris] membris suis. — 23. non aliud] nisi quia non aliud (non aliud *in ras.*). — 28. sic se] *corr. ex* se sic. — 29. quae] qui. — 33. in unum] unum. — 34. inde] in hoc. — 36. praecepta] mandata. — 37. difficultate] difficultate. — 37. praeceptum] praecepta. — 38-39. quid laboras amando? Amando avaritiam. Cum] qui laborans amando avariciam, cum. — 41. trituras] *om.* — 44. cum] *om.* — 45. timentur] times. — 52. tibi] *om. (itemque in lin. 53).*

2057, 1. amor] amor tibi. — 1-2. me tibi] me. — 3. modo audistis] audistis modo. — 4. delectationes] delectationes (*corr. ex* dilectiones) suas (*add. supra.*). — 9. quia ipsa] quae. — 12. hoc] hanc. — 13. ad eam requiescemus] requiescimus. — 15-16. Dixit . . . finem] *om.* — 20. est] *om.* — 21. excelsissimum] excellentissimum. — 29. et alio] alio. — 30. quid] quid enim. — 31. ponit] poni. — 32. Nolite] noli. — 38. et quando] quando. — 41. Christus est] est Christus. — 44. pater] et pater. — 45. alibi] et alibi. — 47. quidquid] quicquid. — 51. tibi . . . transi] ibi . . . Transi.

2058, 2. valetudo] validudo. — 2-3. ibi finis] *corr. ex* finis ibi. — 4. quidquid] quicquid. — 5. honores] honorem. — 9-10. Sed ecce amaris

tu, laudaris; noli] Sed amas (*corr. ex* amaris (?)) ut tu lauderis (*corr. ex* laudaris) et tu noli. — 18. sermonem, in Deo laudabo verbum] verbum, in Deo laudabo sermonem. — 25. reficimur] reficimus. — 27. hic] hoc. — 30. quia] quoniam (*in ras.*). — 30. apparuerit] aparuerit. — 35. finis] iste finis. — 37. ubi est] ubi. — 40. angustamini] angustiamini. — 44. angustari] angustari. — 44. lato] lato hoc. — 45. quidquid] quicquid. — 46. angustat] angustiat. — 48. laboras] *corr. ex* laborans. — 50. tollit tibi] tibi tollit. — 57. venari] vanari. — 58. sequuntur] secuntur.

2059, 12. Diliges] *om.* — 13. sicut] tanquam. — 15. ista epistola] epistola ista. — 23. saeviat] seviat (*corr. ex* serviat). — 29. et] *om.* — 30. si] sed si (*si add. supra*). — 34. blandientis] *corr. ex* blandimentis. — 35. procedant] procedat. — 40. sunt fratres] fratres sunt. — 41. in inimicum] inimicum. — 44. vivis] vivat. — 45. sed] sed si. — 46. nondum credidit] non credit in. — 46. si credidit] si credit in. — 47. credit] credunt. — 47. reprehendis vanitatem] reprehendit unitatem.

2060, 8. ubi] ibi. — 10. incipiens] incipientes. — 11. diffundatur] diffunditur. — 11. dicit] dixit. — 11. Christus et] Christus vel. — 13. Africa] Affrica. — 13. fines] *corr. ex* finis. — 15. partem] patrem. — 19. suum] *om.* — 20. praecidit] precipitet. — 24. contereret] conteret. — 28. honorabat] honorabatur. — 32. amplecti volui] amplecti te volui. — 33. quodvis] *corr. ex* quidvis. — 34. compagem] compaginem. — 34. susum] sursum (*corr. ex* susum). — 37. eis] his. — 43. ergo] *om.* — 44. quadragesimo] quadragesima. — 44. commendavit] commendabat (*corr. ex* commendat). — 46. quia] qui. — 48. adoraret] adorat. — 55. calcabantur] conculcabantur.

2061, 1. sitio] et sicio. — 2. et peregrinus] peregrinus. — 4. hoc in tempore] in tempore hoc. — 5. regnum] restitues regnum. — 5. Israel?] Israhel. — 7. supervenientem] supervenientis. — 8. qua] ubi. — 11. usque] *om.* — 11. qua iaceo qui] quia iaceo, quia. — 13. Qua iacet? Per] quia iacet per. — 14. violes . . . calces] calces . . . violes. — 16. domo] domo sua. — 17. proximum] proxime. — 19. chara] cara. — 20. et vocet] ut vocet. — 21. tenet] teneat. — 22. ante] *om.* — 23. verba novissima] novissima verba. — 24. sepulcrum] sepulchrum (*itemque in lin. 34 et 36*). — 26. existat] existat. — 27. ergo] *om.* — 31. me plus] plus me. — 33. sunt tam] tam sunt. — 37. vixit] iussit. — 39. non ad eum] ad eum non. — 42. sepulcro] sepulchro.

2062, 3. videntis] vidente. — 4. an contemnantur an non contemnantur? Illius] an non contemnatur ille (*corr. ex an non contemnatus an non contemnatur ille*). — 6. quidquid] quod. — 12. ideo] adeo. — 19. traditores] traditor es (*itemque in lin. 20*). — 27. pati Christum] Christum pati. — 27. a mortuis] *om.* — 28. die tertia] tertia die. — 29. ubi] ibi. — 32. in terra] super terram. — 32-33. et quae ligaveris . . . et in coelis] *om.* — 35. incipiens] incipientes. — 39. Christo praedicanti] CRISTO PREDICANTI.

THE SICILIAN TRANSLATORS OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY AND THE FIRST LATIN VERSION OF PTOLEMY'S ALMAGEST

BY CHARLES H. HASKINS AND DEAN PUTNAM LOCKWOOD

THE Norman kingdom of southern Italy and Sicily occupies a position of peculiar importance in the history of mediaeval culture.¹ Uniting under their strong rule the Saracens of Sicily, the Greeks of Calabria and Apulia, and the Lombards of the south-Italian principalities, the Norman sovereigns were still far-sighted and tolerant enough to allow each people to keep its own language, religion, and customs, while from each they took the men and the institutions that seemed best adapted for the organization and conduct of their own government. Greek, Arabic, and Latin were in constant use among the people of the capital and in the royal documents;² Saracen emirs, Byzantine logothetes, and Norman justiciars worked side by side in the royal *curia*; and it is a matter of dispute among scholars whether so fundamental a department of the Sicilian state as finance was derived from the *diwan* of the caliphs, the *fiscus* of the Roman emperors, or the

¹ On the culture of southern Italy and Sicily in the twelfth century, see Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia* (Florence, 1854-1872), III, pp. 441-464, 655 ff.; Rose, *Die Lücke im Diogenes Laërtius und der alte Uebersetzer*, in *Hermes* (1866), I, pp. 367-397; Freeman, *The Normans at Palermo*, in his *Historical Essays*, Third Series, pp. 437-476; Siragusa, *Il regno di Guglielmo I in Sicilia* (Palermo, 1885-1886), I, pp. 139-148, II, pp. 101-144; Hartwig, *Die Uebersetzungsliteratur Unteritaliens in der normannisch-staufischen Epoche*, in *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* (1886), III, pp. 161-190, 223-225, 505 f.; Caspar, *Roger II und die Gründung der normannisch-sicilischen Monarchie* (Innsbruck, 1904), pp. 435-472; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile* (Paris, 1907), II, pp. 708-742, where the literary side of the subject is treated much too briefly. On the Greek element in the South, see also Lenormant, *La grande Grèce* (Paris, 1881-1884); and Batiffol, *L'abbaye de Rossano* (Paris, 1891).

² Kehr, *Die Urkunden der normannisch-sicilischen Könige* (Innsbruck, 1902), pp. 239-243.

exchequer of the Anglo-Norman kings.¹ King Roger, like his grandson Frederick II, drew to his court men of talent from every land, regardless of speech or faith: an Englishman, Robert of 'Salesby,' stood at the head of his chancery, and others from beyond the Alps found employment in his government;² a Greek monk, Nilus Doxopates, wrote at his command the history of the five patriarchates which was directed at the supremacy of the Roman see; a Saracen, Edrisi, prepared under his direction the comprehensive treatise on geography which became celebrated as 'King Roger's Book.' A court where so many different types of culture met and mingled inevitably became a place for the interchange and diffusion of ideas, and particularly for the transmission of eastern learning to the West. Easy of access, the Sicilian capital stood at the centre of Mediterranean civilization, and while the student of Arabic science and philosophy could in some respects find more for his purpose in the schools of Toledo, Palermo had the advantage of direct relations with the Greek East and direct knowledge of works of Greek science and philosophy which were known in Spain only through Arabic translations or compends. Especially was a cosmopolitan court like the Sicilian favorable to the production of translations. Knowledge of more than one language was almost a necessity for the higher officials as well as for the scholars of Sicily, and Latin versions of Greek and Arabic works were sure to be valued by the northern visitors of scholarly tastes who came in considerable numbers to the South and wished to carry back some specimen of that eastern learning whose fame was fast spreading in the lands beyond the Alps.

The achievements of the Sicilian scholars of the twelfth century are in part known, thanks particularly to the studies of Amari and Valentin

¹ Pauli, in *Nachrichten* of the Göttingen Academy, 1878, pp. 523-540; Hartwig and Amari, in *Memorie dei Lincei*, third series, II, 409-438; Garufi, in *Archivio storico italiano*, fifth series, XXVII, pp. 225-263; von Heckel, in *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* (1908), I, pp. 371 ff.

² Hugo Falcandus, *Liber de regno Siciliae*, ed. Siragusa, p. 6: Quoscumque viros aut consiliis utiles aut bello claros compererat, cumulatis eos ad virtutem beneficiis invitabat. Transalpinos maxime, cum ab Normannis originem duceret sciretque Francorum gentem belli gloria ceteris omnibus anteferri, plurimum diligendos elegerat et propensius honorandos. Cf. Romualdus of Salerno, in *Mon. Germ. Hist., Scriptores*, XIX, p. 426; John of Salisbury, *ibid.*, XX, 538; John of Hexham, *ibid.*, XXVII, 15; Ibn-al-Atir, in Amari, *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula*, I, p. 450.

Rose, but the sources of information are of a very scanty sort, and new material is greatly needed. It is the purpose of the present paper to add Ptolemy's *Almagest* to the list of works known to have been turned into Latin in Sicily, and to bring out certain additional facts concerning the Sicilian translators and their work.

The Μαθηματικὴ Σύνταξις¹ of Ptolemy was the most important work of ancient astronomy,² summing up as it did the labors of Ptolemy and his Alexandrine predecessors in systematic and comprehensive form, and in the Middle Ages it possessed supreme authority as the source of all higher astronomical knowledge. Early in the ninth century it was translated into Arabic, and the preëminent position of this 'divine book' among the Saracens is attested by the superlative title of the *Almagest* (al *meǵīstā*) which became attached to it, and by the mass of explanatory literature which grew up about it. The needs of astronomy in Latin Europe were met during the early Middle Ages by far simpler manuals, but by the twelfth century the fame of the *Almagest* began to spread in the West, and Gerard of Cremona, for the love of this book which he could not find among the Latins,³ made his way to Toledo and executed the translation from the Arabic which did duty until the

¹ On the question of the original title, see Heiberg, *Ptolemaei Opera*, II, p. cxi; Hultsch, in *Litterarisches Centralblatt*, 1898, col. 1899; Tittel, in *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1908, col. 991.

² On the place of the *Almagest* in the history of astronomy and mathematics, see Wolf, *Geschichte der Astronomie* (Munich, 1877), pp. 60-63; Cantor, *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Mathematik*³ (Leipzig, 1907), I, pp. 414-422; Tannery, *Recherches sur l'histoire de l'astronomie ancienne* (Paris, 1893). On its transmission to the West, see Wüstenfeld, *Die Uebersetzungen arabischer Werke in das Lateinische, Abhandlungen of the Göttingen Academy* (1877), XXII, p. 64; Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1893), pp. 519-525; *id.*, *Die arabischen Uebersetzungen aus dem Griechischen*, in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (1896), L, pp. 199-207; *id.*, *Die arabischen Bearbeiter des Almagest*, in *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, 1892, pp. 53-62; *id.*, *Die europäischen Uebersetzungen aus dem Arabischen*, Vienna *Sitzungsberichte*, phil.-hist. Klasse, CXLIX, 4, p. 19; Boncompagni, *Della vita e delle opere di Gherardo Cremonense traduttore del secolo duodecimo* (Rome, 1851), reprinted from *Atti dell' Accademia Pontificia*, anno IV; Rose, *Ptolemaeus und die Schule von Toledo*, in *Hermes*, VIII, 327-349.

³ Amore tamen almagesti, quem apud latinos minime reperiit, Tolectum perrexit. Boncompagni, *l. c.*, p. 4; Wüstenfeld, *l. c.*, p. 58.

fifteenth century. His work was completed in 1175,¹ and it was not till 1451 that George Trapezuntius made his version directly from the Greek.² Such, very briefly, are the principal facts as yet known regarding the transmission of Ptolemy's great work to the West. There exists, however, in the library of the Vatican a manuscript which contains a translation quite different from those of Gerard of Cremona and George Trapezuntius, and the preface, which is printed below, makes plain that we have here the earliest Latin version of the *Almagest*, made in Sicily about 1160 and based directly upon the original Greek.

This manuscript, Vat. Lat. 2056, which belongs to the fourteenth or possibly to the very end of the thirteenth century, is a well-written parchment codex which was formerly in the possession of Coluccio Salutati.³ The translation of the *Almagest* occupies the ninety-four numbered folios,⁴ and there are four fly-leaves, partly in blank and partly

¹ The evidence for this date is found on the last folio of a thirteenth century ms. of Gerard's translation in the Laurentian (LXXXIX, Sup. 45; cf. Bandini, *Catalogus*, III, col. 312): Finit liber Ptholomaei Pheludensis qui grece megaziti, arabice almagesti, latine vocatur vigil, cura magistri Thadei Ungari anno domini millesimo .c.lxxv°. Toleti consummatis (sic), anno autem Arabum quingentesimo .lxx°. [then a blank of about the space of six letters] mensis octavi .xi° die translatus a magistro Girardo Cremonensi de arabico in latinum. The two computations agree, and the date has been generally accepted (Wüstenfeld, *l. c.*, p. 64; Rose, in *Hermes*, VIII, p. 334; Cantor, *Vorlesungen*³, I, p. 907; Steinschneider, *Hebräische Uebersetzungen*, p. 522), but Steinschneider in his latest reference to it inserts an interrogation point (*Vienna Sitzungsberichte*, phil.-hist. Klasse, CXLIX, 4, p. 19).

² Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums*³, II, p. 141. The statements made by some writers (Wolf, *Geschichte der Astronomie*, p. 198; Pauly, *Real-Encyclopädie*¹, VI, 1, p. 240) that a translation of the *Almagest* was made under Frederick II arises from a confusion with the translation of the *Quadripartitum*. See Rose, in *Hermes*, VIII, p. 335; Steinschneider, *Hebräische Uebersetzungen*, p. 522, n. 158; *id.*, Vienna *Sitzungsberichte*, CXLIX, 4, p. 3.

³ F. 88 v: Liber Colucii. F. 94 v: Liber Colucii Pyeri de Salutatis.

⁴ As we have found no other copy of this translation, the *incipit* and *explicit* of each book are given for identification of other possible copies. F. 1-1 v, preface, as printed below, pp. 99-102. Ff. 1 v-9, book I: Valde bene qui proprie philosophati sunt, o Sire, videntur michi sequestrasse theoreticum philosophie a practico . . . atque inde manifestum est quoniam et reliquorum taetartimorum ordinatio contingit eadem omnibus in unoquoque eisdem contingentibus propter rectam speram, id est equinoctialem, sine declinatione ad orizontem subiacet. Ff. 9 v-26, book II: Pertrans-euntes in primo sintaxeos de totorum positione capitulatim debentia prelibari . . . minutione vero quando occidentalior subiacens. Ff. 26-33, book III: Assignatas a

covered with astronomical notes and symbols in a hand different from the text. The text averages fifty lines to a page, and the written page measures ca. 14.7 by 25.5 centimeters. There are no illustrations in the text, but the outer margins have many geometrical figures, beautifully drawn and often of great intricacy, and lettered in a hand which seems to be that of the original scribe. The text and the titles of chapters which appear at the head of each book are written in a single hand, but the hands of several correctors and annotators appear both in the text and in the tables.

In the preface, writing to the teacher of mathematics to whom he dedicates his work, the translator says (lines 24-38) that as he was laboring over the study of medicine at Salerno he learned that a copy

nobis in aute hoc coordinatis et universaliter debentibus de celo et terra mathematice prelibari . . . piscium gradus .vi. .xlv., anomalie vero .iiij^a. g[radius] et .viii. ad proximum sexagesima piscium. Ff. 33-41, book IV: In eo quod ante hoc coordinantes quecunque utique quis videat contingentia circa solis motum. . . . in coniugationibus lune et ipsis eclipsibus consonius maxime nostris ypothesibus inventis. Ff. 41-47 v, book V: Causa vero earum que ad solem sinzugiarum et sinodicarum vel panselinicarum . . . periferiam maiorem esse ea que est .zb. habuimus et .aiz. angulum g[radius] .xxxv. et d[imidium], quod propositum erat demonstrando. Ff. 47 v-55 v, book VI: Deinceps ergo contingente eo quod circa eclipticas sinzugias solis et lune negotio . . . universalius recipientes lunarium partes primas et extremas eclipsium et completionum significationes. Ff. 56-61 v, book VII: Pertranseuntes in ante hoc coordinatis, o Sire, et circa rectam et circa inclinatam speram contingentia . . . [table]. Ff. 62-66 v, book VIII: [Table] . . . spatia sumptis ad solem significationibus et in ipsis in parte lune acclinationibus. Ff. 66 v-72 v, book IX: Igitur quecunque quidem quis et de fixis stellis velut in capitulis commemorat secundum quantum usque nunc apparentia processum conceptionis . . . tantis vero .i. et .vi. superant chelorum g[radius] qui secundum observationem. Ff. 72 v-76 v, book X: Igitur stelle quidem mercurii ypotheses et quantitates anomaliarum, . . . optinebit manifestum quoniam et secundum expositum epochis temporis cancri g[radius] .xvi. .xl. Ff. 76 v-83 v, book XI: Demonstratis circa martis stellam periodicis motibus et anomalis et epochis . . . et collectum g[radium] numerum dementes ab eo quod tunc apoguo stelle, in apparentem ipsius progressionem incuremus. Ff. 83 v-88 v, book XII: His demonstratis consequens utique erit et secundum unamquamque quinque erraticarum factas precessionis . . . tertio vero hesperias et rursum quarto eas et quinto esperias, et est canon huiusmodi: [table]. Ff. 88 v-94 v, book XIII: Delictis autem in eam que de quinque erraticis coordinationem adhuc duobus his et secundum latitudinem . . . et que ad commoditatem solam contemplationis sed non ad ostentationem commemoratio suggerebat, proprium utique nobis hic et commensurabilem recipiat finem presens negotium.

of Ptolemy's great treatise had been brought from Constantinople to Palermo, as a present from the Greek emperor, by an ambassador of the Sicilian king. This emissary, by name Aristippus, he set out to seek, and braving the terrors of Scylla and Charybdis and the fiery streams of Etna, — this last doubtless on the way to Catania, where we know Aristippus was archdeacon, — he found him at Pergusa,¹ near the fount, engaged, not without danger, in investigating the marvels of Etna. Our Salernitan scholar's linguistic and astronomical knowledge was not, however, sufficient to permit his attempting at once the translation of the book which he had sought, even if there had been no other obstacles in the way, and he applied himself diligently to the study of Greek and to a preliminary course in the *Data*, *Optica*, and *Catoptrica* of Euclid and the *De Motu* of Proclus. When ready to attack the *Almagest* he had the good fortune to find a friendly expositor in Eugene, a man most skilled in Greek and Arabic and not unfamiliar with Latin, and succeeded, contrary to the desire of an ill-tempered man,² in turning the work into Latin.

The date of these events can be fixed with some definiteness owing to the mention of Aristippus, who was an important personage in Sicilian history in the reign of William I. Made archdeacon of Catania in 1156, in which year he is found with the king at the siege of Benevento, Henricus Aristippus was in November, 1160, after the murder of the emir of emirs, Maio, advanced to the position of royal *familiaris* and placed in charge of the whole administration of the kingdom; but in the spring of 1162, while on the way to Apulia, he was suddenly seized by the king's order and sent to Palermo to prison, where he shortly

¹ This name gives rise to a difficulty, for the lake of Pergusa, the fabled scene of the rape of Proserpine (Ovid, *Metam.* 5, 386; Claudian, *De raptu Proserpinae*, 2, 112), lies in the vicinity of Castrogiovanni, the ancient Enna, at so considerable a distance from Etna that there would be no possible danger to an observer. The phrase *ethnea miracula* would seem too definite to be interpreted as volcanic phenomena which might occur in the region of Pergusa at a time of disturbance of Etna. Possibly the author meant some fount in the neighborhood of Etna otherwise unknown to us.

² *Contra viri discoli voluntatem*. This may be connected with the unexplained obstacle (*cum occulte quidem alia . . . prohiberent*) referred to above, but if the opposition of an unnamed person is meant, we should expect *cuiusdam*, while the mention of Eugene's assistance makes it unlikely that the reference is to him. Very possibly the opposition came from Aristippus himself.

afterward died.¹ The meeting at the fount of Pergusa was accordingly anterior, not only to the events of 1162, but also to the promotion of 1160, after which the necessity of constant presence at the *curia* left no time for scientific pursuits. If we follow the diplomatic history of Sicily back to the assumption of the royal title in 1130, we find only three embassies to Constantinople, and the relations of the Greek emperor and the Sicilian king were such during this period that it is quite unlikely that there were others. The first series of negotiations falls in 1143 and 1144, when a mission sent to arrange a marriage alliance failed of its purpose because of the death of the Emperor John Comnenus and when a second set of ambassadors was put in prison by his son Manuel.² In neither of these instances is it at all probable that the emperor presented a valuable manuscript to King Roger, nor could Aristippus have been a man of sufficient importance to be employed in so responsible a position. For similar reasons he can hardly have been one of the emissaries despatched by William I on his accession in 1154, for these were all bishops and were not well received.³ By 1158, on the other hand, when peaceful relations were resumed between the two sovereigns, Aristippus occupied a higher position, and the Emperor Manuel, who had not been successful in the preceding campaigns, had every reason to deal generously with the envoys who concluded the peace of that year.⁴ If, accordingly, the manuscript of the *Almagest* was brought to Sicily at this time,⁵ the meeting with Aristippus can hardly

¹ Except for his prologues to the *Meno* and *Phaedo* of Plato (*Hermes*, I, pp. 386-389) and for the text which we print below, the facts concerning the life of Aristippus are known only from the chronicle of Hugo Falcandus (ed. Siragusa), pp. 44, 55, 69, 81. See Siragusa, *Il regno di Guglielmo I*, I, pp. 144-145, II, pp. 18, 51-52, 107-112; Kehr, *Die Urkunden der normannisch-sicilischen Könige*, pp. 80 (on the date of the death of Aschettinus, predecessor of Aristippus as archdeacon), 82-83; Chalandon, *Domination normande*, II, pp. 174, 272, 273, 276, 277, 282, 289.

² Caspar, *Roger II*, pp. 362-364; Chalandon, *l. c.*, II, pp. 127-129.

³ Cinnamus, 3, 12 (ed. Bonn, p. 119): ἦγον οὖν ἄνδρες ἐπισκοπὸν ἕκαστος περι-
κείμενος ἀρχήν. Cf. Chalandon, *Domination normande*, II, pp. 188 f.

⁴ Siragusa, *Il regno di Guglielmo I*, I, pp. 74-76; Chalandon, *l. c.*, I, pp. 253 f.

⁵ Beyond the fact that there was an eruption before 1162, the chronology of Mount Etna's eruptions in the period preceding 1169 is not known with sufficient fulness and exactness to be of assistance in dating the reference in our text. Cf. Sartorius von Waltershausen, *Der Aetna* (Leipzig, 1880), I, pp. 210-211; Amari, *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula*, I, pp. 134-135.

have been much earlier than 1160, and it certainly was not more than two years later. Some time must be allowed for the studies described and for the actual labor of translation, but three or four years would suffice for all this, and we can with reasonable certainty conclude that the translation was completed fully ten years before Gerard of Cremona produced his version in 1175.

Of the name and nationality of the author of this translation nothing is revealed beyond the fact that he is a stranger to southern Italy and Sicily. He calls himself a tardy follower of philosophy (*philosophie tardus asecla*) in almost the same words used by the great mathematician of the preceding generation, Adelard of Bath,¹ and seeks to defend the divine science against the attacks of the profane, but his main interest is plainly in the studies of the *quadrivium*, in which he has been instructed by the master to whom his version of the *Almagest* is dedicated. He must have been familiar with Euclid's *Elements* before his arrival in Sicily, for he is able to take up the more advanced applications of geometry contained in Euclid's other works, and he has made at least a beginning in medicine. In common with the men of his age and with Ptolemy himself, he evidently believes in astrology.² He has picked up an Arab proverb, and can quote Boethius and Remigius of Auxerre, as well as Ovid and Sallust. He also quotes, though perhaps not at first hand, Aristotle's *De caelo* from a Greek source.³

How fully our translator succeeded in mastering the difficult subject-matter of Ptolemy's treatise is a question that must be left to specialists in ancient astronomy. Granted, however, that his work was done with reasonable intelligence, it has an importance for the study of the Greek text far superior to the version of Gerard of Cremona, who worked

¹ Adelardus philosophorum assecla ultimus. *Regule Abaci*, ed. Boncompagni, in *Bulletino di bibliografia e di storia delle scienze matematiche e fisiche*, XIV, p. 91.

² See lines 20-21, where he calls the study of the movements of the stars veterum lima, speculum modernorum.

³ Line 5: earum quas Aristotiles acrivestatas vocat artium doctrina. The reference is evidently to the *De caelo*, 3, 7: μάχεσθαι ταῖς ἀκριβεστάταις ἐπιστήμαις, i. e. αἱ μαθηματικαί. No other mention of the *De caelo* has been found in the West before the translation which Gerard of Cremona is said to have made from the Arabic. Cf. Wüstenfeld, in *Abhandlungen* of the Göttingen Academy, XXII, p. 67; Steinschneider, Vienna *Sitzungsberichte*, CXLIX, 4, p. 17; *id.*, *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Beiheft XII (1893), pp. 55-57.

from the Arabic with the aid of a Spanish interpreter.¹ Not only did the author of the Sicilian translation draw directly from the original Greek, but, like other mediaeval translators from this language, he made a word-for-word rendering which, while not so painfully awkward and schoolboyish as the translations of Aristippus,² is still very close and literal.³ For purposes of textual criticism a translation of this sort is not much inferior to a copy of the Greek text, and as there are but three existing manuscripts of the *Μαθηματικὴ Σύνταξις* anterior to the twelfth century, it is evident that our translation deserves careful collation and study. Such examination as we have been able to make indicates that it has closer affinities with Heiberg's codex A (Paris. Gr. 2389), the best manuscript, than with any of the others.⁴

¹ On Gerard's method see Rose, in *Hermes*, VIII, pp. 332 ff. Yet it has been proposed (Manitius, in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1899, col. 578) to use his translation as an aid to the establishment of the Greek text.

² See the specimen printed below, p. 88, n.

³ Generally the number and order of the words in the Latin corresponds exactly with the Greek, although a genitive absolute in the Greek may be rendered by a *cum*-clause in the Latin, or the optative with *ἄν* be represented by *utique* with the future indicative or subjunctive. A characteristic practice is the use of *id quod* when a modifier, other than a simple adjective, stands in the attributive position in the Greek; e. g., ἡ τῶν ὅλων θεωρία = ea que universorum speculatione. This Grecism occurs in the translator's own composition; see the preface l. 18: ad eam que astrorum, which would equal εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀστρον. In the handling of technical terms the Greek words are often merely transliterated (for an example see the beginning of Book V, printed above, p. 79, n.), but this is not done with any consistency (e. g., συνζύγια is rendered by both *sinzugia* and *coniugatio*, and σύνταξις may appear as *sintaxis* or as *coordinatio*). The following passage from the opening chapter of the first book may serve as a more connected specimen of the translation:

VAlde bene qui proprie philosophati sunt, o Sire, videntur michi sequestrasse theoreticum philosophie a practico. Et enim si accidit (MS. accit) et practico prius hoc ipsum theoreticum esse, nichilominus utique quis inveniet magnam existentem in ipsis differentiam; non solum quod moralium quidem virtutum quedam multis et sine disciplina inesse possunt, eam vero que universorum speculationem absque doctrina consequi impossibile, sed et eo quod ibi quidem ex ea que in ipsis rebus est continua operatione, hic autem ex eo qui in theorematibus processu, plurima utilitas fiat. Inde nobis ipsis duximus competere actus quidem in ipsarum imaginationum investigationibus ordinare, ut nec in minimis eius que ad bonum et bene dispositum statum considerationis obliviscamur. Scole vero dare plurimum in theorematum multorum et bonorum existentium doctrinam, precipue vero in eam que eorum que proprie mathematica nominantur. . . .

⁴ On the mss. see Heiberg, *Ptolemaei Opera*, I, I, pp. iii-vi, II, pp. xviii-cxlix.

However great its merits as a faithful reproduction of the original, it is clear that our translation exerted far less influence than that of Gerard of Cremona upon the study of mathematical astronomy. Gerard himself was plainly unaware of its existence when he started for Toledo, although when he came to translate Aristotle's *Meteorologica* he knew of Aristippus' rendering of a portion of that work,¹ and the evidence of citations and numerous surviving copies shows that his was the version in current use from the close of the twelfth century to the second half of the fifteenth.² On the other hand, while only one manuscript of the earlier translation has been found, this was not wholly forgotten. The manuscript is a copy, posterior by more than a century to the date of translation, and as it formed part of the library of Coluccio Salutati, the influence of this version can be followed into the period of the early Renaissance. Salutati's correspondence makes no mention of this manuscript, or indeed of the *Almagest*,³ but it is altogether likely that this was one of the sources of his acquaintance with the opinions of famous astronomers,⁴ including Ptolemy, and the use of the Greek term *aplanes*⁵ indicates that he found the word in a translation made directly from the Greek and not through an Arabic intermediary.

Of the incidental information furnished by the preface, special interest attaches to the fact that the manuscript of the *Almagest* was brought to Sicily as a present from the Greek emperor. We know that Manuel Comnenus took a special interest in astronomical and astrological studies,⁶ and it is characteristic of the culture of the court of Palermo, as well as of the emperor's own tastes, that the great work of Ptolemy should be thought an appropriate gift to the Sicilian envoys. There is reason

¹ See below, p. 89.

² Thus the Bibliothèque Nationale has ten copies of Gerard's translation (MSS. Lat. 7254-7260, 14738, 16200, 17864), one of which (MS. Lat. 14738) is of the close of the twelfth century. The use of Gerard's version by Roger Bacon can be shown by the appearance in his citation (*Opus Majus*, ed. Bridges, I, p. 231) of the form *Abrahis*, the Arabic corruption of Hipparchus in *Almagest*, 5, 14.

³ On the likelihood of its use, see Novati, *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, IV, 1, p. 90, n. 1, who however supposes that Gerard's translation was employed.

⁴ *Epp.* 4, 11; 7, 22; 14, 4, 12, 24 (ed. Novati, I, p. 280, II, p. 348, IV, 1, pp. 12, 86, 226). Cf. Voigt, *Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums*³, I, p. 204.

⁵ *Epp.* 14, 4 (Novati, IV, 1, p. 13), of the year 1404.

⁶ Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*², p. 627.

for thinking that other manuscripts went at this time from Constantinople to enrich the Sicilian libraries. Certain early treatises on alchemy mention the Emperor Manuel in a way that suggests his reign as the period when they were brought to the West,¹ and, as we shall see below, the Latin text of the prophecy of the so-called Erythraean Sibyl expressly states that it was translated from a copy brought from the treasury of the Emperor Manuel (*de aerario Manuelis imperatoris eductum*). Plainly manuscripts from the imperial library must be taken into account, as well as ecclesiastical influences, in tracing the intellectual connections between the Greek empire and the West in the century preceding the Fourth Crusade.

The mention of Euclid's *Data*, *Optica*, and *Catoptrica* helps to connect the Latin translations of these works likewise with the Sicilian school, if not with the translator of the *Almagest* himself. These treatises formed part of a group of texts, corresponding roughly to the *μικρὸς ἀστρονομούμενος* of the Greeks and the 'intermediate books' of the Saracens, which formed the basis of mathematical studies in the stage between the *Elements* of Euclid and the *Almagest*.² No Latin version of the *Data* has reached us from the Middle Ages, although we know one was made from the Arabic by Gerard of Cremona,³ but the extant translations of the *Optica* and *Catoptrica* can be traced back to the beginning of the thirteenth century, and were probably made in the

¹ J. Wood Brown, *An Enquiry into the Life and Legend of Michael Scot* (Edinburgh, 1897), pp. 83-85. Brown conjectures that alchemical MSS. were brought to Sicily as a result of the Greek campaigns of George of Antioch, but even if the MSS. with which this admiral enriched the church of the Martorana were thus secured, they could not have been obtained from the imperial library, and it is hard to explain the mention of the emperor's name on any other ground than that the treatises had been in his possession.

² See Steinschneider, in *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik*, X, pp. 456-498, XXXI, pp. 100-102; Menge, *Euclidis Data* (Teubner, 1896), p. liv; Heiberg, *Euclidis Optica* (Teubner, 1895), pp. xxxii, 1; Cantor, *Vorlesungen*³, pp. 447, 705. In the fourteenth century Theodore Metochita tells us, in a passage cited by Menge and by Heiberg, that he found he could not understand the *Almagest* without the same preliminary course in the *Data*, *Optica*, and *Catoptrica* which was taken by our Sicilian translator.

³ Wüstenfeld, in *Abhandlungen* of the Göttingen Academy, XXII, p. 62; Steinschneider, *Hebräische Uebersetzungen*, p. 510; Hultsch, in *Pauly-Wissowa*, XI, 1043.

twelfth.¹ They were evidently made directly from the Greek, indeed the *Catoptrica* does not seem to have been known to the Arabs,² and the discovery that Greek texts of the three works existed in Sicily in the twelfth century points clearly to this region as the source of the Latin *interpretatio*.³ The translator of the *Almagest* does not make quite clear the nature of his preliminary labors in the works of Euclid, but the more natural interpretation would seem to be that he not only studied them but tried his hand (*prelusi*) at turning them into Latin.

In mentioning the envoy Aristippus and the expositor Eugene our text introduces us to the two leading figures among the Sicilian translators of this period. That King William's minister Aristippus was a man of learning in Greek and Latin literature had long been known from the chronicle of one of his associates in the royal administration,⁴ but it was reserved for Valentin Rose to discover and publish in 1866 the prologues to the translation of the *Meno* and *Phaedo* of Plato which give us an idea of the range of his scholarship and constitute our chief source of information respecting the intellectual life of the Sicilian court.⁵

Dedicating his version of the *Phaedo* to a favorite of fortune (*roboreto fortune*⁶) who is returning to his home in England, Aristippus

¹ Heiberg, *Optica*, pp. xxxii, li; Steinschneider, *Hebräische Uebersetzungen*, p. 512.

² Heiberg, *Studien über Euklid* (Leipzig, 1882), p. 152.

³ The existence of the Greek text of the *Optica* in Sicily was already known from the prologue of Aristippus published by Rose (*Hermes*, I, p. 388, cf. p. 381), and the conclusion that the Latin version was of Sicilian origin was drawn therefrom by Heiberg, *Optica*, p. xxxii. John Dee described one of the mss. in his library as containing "Euclidis Elementa Geometrica, Optica et Catoptrica, ex Arabico translata per Adellardum" (*Diary*, ed. Halliwell, Camden Society, p. 67; cf. Wright, *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, II, p. 100), but there is no other reason for attributing the translation of the *Optica* and *Catoptrica* to Adelard of Bath, and the translator's name is not found with the versions of these treatises in ms. 251 of Corpus Christi College, which belonged to Dee.

⁴ Hugo Falcandus, ed. Siragusa, p. 44: mansuetissimi virum ingenii et tam latinis quam grecis litteris eruditum. That the author of this chronicle was a member of the Sicilian curia, very possibly a notary, is shown by Besta, *Il 'Liber de Regno Siciliae' e la storia del diritto siculo*, in *Miscellanea di archeologia di storia e di filologia dedicata al Prof. A. Salinas* (Palermo, 1907), pp. 283-306.

⁵ *Hermes*, I, pp. 386-389. The prologues are reprinted by Hartwig, *Archivio storico per le province napoletane*, VIII, pp. 461-464.

⁶ Rose seeks to identify this person with the Sicilian chancellor Robert of 'Salesbia,' but as he disappears before the accession of William I, it is quite unlikely that he was sojourning in Sicily in 1156 or later. Moreover, he was not a scholar, for John of Salisbury speaks of him as 'sine magna litterarum copia.' The identification is

pleads with him to remain in Sicily, where he has at his disposal not only the wisdom of the Latins but a Greek library and the aid of that master of Greek literature, Theoridus of Brindisi,¹ and of Aristippus himself, useful as a whetstone if not as a blade. In Sicily he will have access to the *Mechanics* of Hiero, the *Optics* of Euclid, the *Posterior Analytics* of Aristotle, and other philosophical works. Best of all he will have a king whose equal cannot be found—*cuius curia schola comitatus, cuius singula verba philosophica apofthegmata, cuius questiones inextricabiles, cuius solutiones nihil indiscussum, cuius studium nil relinquit intemptatum*. It is, we learn from the prologue to the *Meno*, at the king's order that the archdeacon has begun a translation of Gregory Nazianzen, and at the instance of his chief minister, Maio, and the archbishop of Palermo that he has undertaken to render Diogenes Laertius into Latin. Neither of these, if ever completed, has reached us,² but the translations of the *Phaedo*³ and *Meno*⁴ are pre-

rejected by Hartwig, *Archivio storico napoletano*, VIII, p. 433; Siragusa, *Il regno di Guglielmo I*, II, p. 111; and Kehr, *Die Urkunden*, p. 77, n. 6. Rose's identification of Aristippus with the *grecus interpres* of John of Salisbury (cf. Webb, *Ioannis Saresberiensis Policraticus*, I, pp. xxv f.) is also highly conjectural.

¹ Otherwise unknown, unless he is the 'Teuredus noster grammaticus' of John of Salisbury. Rose, *l. c.*, p. 380. He may possibly have been the *ιερέα καλὸν τῆς Βρενδύσου* with whom Eugene the admiral exchanged verses. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XI, pp. 437-439. In any case this priest should be added to the list of west-Greek poets of the twelfth century.

² Unless, as Rose suggests, this translation be the source of the passages which John of Salisbury and others cite from the portion of Diogenes Laertius now lost. Cf. Webb, *Ioannes Saresberiensis Policraticus* (Oxford, 1909), I, pp. xxviii, 223, note.

³ The *Phaedo* is found at Erfurt, ms. O. 7, ff. 1-18v (Schum, *Verzeichniss der Amplonianischen Handschriften-Sammlung*, p. 673); at Cues, Spitalbibliothek, ms. 177, ff. 58-89; in the Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. Lat. 6567 A, ff. 6-35, and ms. 16581, ff. 95-162v (formerly ms. Sorbonne 1771; see Cousin, *Fragments—philosophie scholastique*, Paris, 1840, p. 406); at Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, ms. Palatino 639 (*I codici Palatini della R. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze*, II, p. 207); Venice, St. Mark's, Cl. X, ms. 138 (Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca Ms. ad S. Marci Venetiarum*, IV, p. 88); University of Leyden, ms. 64 (Rashdall, *Universities of the Middle Ages*, II, p. 745); Oxford, Corpus Christi College, ms. 243, ff. 115v-135v (Coxe, *Catalogus*, II, p. 100). For a specimen of the translation see Cousin, *l. c.* (also in his *Oeuvres*, 1847, third series, II, p. 325). A marginal note in the Corpus Christi ms. (f. 135v) comments: *Hic liber omnium librorum Platonis est agrestissimus, vel quia Socrates in die mortis inornate locutus est et simpliciter, vel quia Plato interitum magistri commemorans pre dolore stilum non ornavit, vel quia etiam Plato quasi fidem et quod omni modo credi voluit hic predicans non obscuro verborum ornatu sed simplici relatione exequutus est*.

⁴ The *Meno* is found at Erfurt, in Amplonian ms. O. 7 and ms. Q. 61 of the University; at Cues, Spitalbibliothek, ms. 177, ff. 89v-100v; and in Corpus Christi

served in several manuscripts and constituted the only medium through which these dialogues were known to Latin Europe until the new translations of the fifteenth century.¹ Men like Petrarch and Salutati were dependent upon a Latin version of the *Phaedo* which was doubtless that of Aristippus,² and the author of the translation which ultimately superseded his, Leonardo Bruni Aretino, seems, like more than one humanistic translator, to have had at hand a copy of the mediaeval rendering.³ Both dialogues were copied at Oxford as late as 1423,⁴ and both are found in a collection of Latin translations of Plato which was used by Nicholas Cusanus in his Platonic studies.⁵ Aristippus was also the author of the

College, MS. 243, ff. 184v-193v (Rose, *l. c.*, p. 385). The beginning and end of the text of the Corpus MS. may serve as a specimen of the translation:

Menon. Habes mihi dicere, o Socrate, utrum docile virtus, seu non docibile verum usu et conversacione comparabile, sive neque usu et conversacione comparabile ceterum natura inest hominibus, sive alio aliquo modo. *Socrates.* O Meno, hactenus quidem Tessali laudabiles erant inter grecos et ammirandi effecti sunt in re equestri (MS. sequestri) et diviciis, nunc autem, ut mihi videtur, etiam in sapientia et non nullatenus tui amatoris Aristippi cives Larissei. Huius rei utique vobis causa est Gorgias. . . . Nunc autem mihi utique hora aliquo ire. Tu autem hec que ipse persuasus es persuade etiam peregrinum istum Anitum uti micior fiat, quia si persuaseris hunc est est (sic) quoniam et Atheniensibus proderis etc. Finit Menon Platonis scriptus per Fredericum Naghel de Trajecto anno domini .mcccc.xxiii. dominica infra octavas ascensionis in alma universitate Oxoniensi.

¹ It would not be strange if the selection of these particular dialogues of Plato was influenced by the fact that they are the only ones which make mention of an Aristippus. On mentions of the *Phaedo* in the Middle Ages see Rose, *l. c.*, p. 374; Delisle, *Cabinet des Mss. de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, II, p. 530, III, p. 87; Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus*, ed. Bridges, II, 274. Although no other possible source of these citations is known, they are usually not sufficiently specific to enable us to recognize Aristippus' version; but a copy of this was in the library of the Sorbonne at the beginning of the fourteenth century (Delisle, *l. c.*, III, p. 87) and is doubtless to be identified with the MS. given to this library by Geroud d'Abbeville which is now MS. Lat. 16581 of the Bibliothèque Nationale (Delisle, II, p. 148).

² Nohac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*², II, pp. 140, 141, 241; Novati, *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, II, pp. 444, 449, III, p. 515. MS. Lat. 6567A belonged (f. 35v) to 'M. Iacobi Finucii de Castro Aretin.'

³ Luiso, *Commento a una lettera di L. Bruni*, in *Raccolta di studii critici dedicata ad Alessandro d'Ancona* (Florence, 1901), p. 88. The humanistic version of the *Meno* was the work of Marsiglio Ficino.

⁴ Supra, p. 87, n. 4. Cf. Coxe, *Catalogus*, on this MS.

⁵ Kraus, *Die Handschriften-Sammlung des Cardinals Nicolaus v. Cusa*, in *Serapeum*, XXVI (1865), p. 74, codex K 1; Marx, *Verzeichnis der Handschriften-Sammlung des Hospitals zu Cues* (Trier, 1905), p. 165, MS. 177.

standard translation of the fourth book of Aristotle's *Meteorologica*, which passed into circulation so quickly that Gerard of Cremona did not find it necessary to include this book in his version;¹ and the prologue to the *Phaedo* indicates still further literary activity.²

To the list of Aristippus's translations our text makes no additions, but it shows him under a new aspect as the intermediary in bringing the *Almagest* and, doubtless, other manuscripts from Constantinople to Sicily. Even more noteworthy is the glimpse it affords of his observations of Mount Etna, for the actual examination of such natural phenomena was a rare thing in mediaeval learning, and the willingness of the translator of the *Meteorologica* to go beyond his authorities, even at some personal risk, reveals a spirit which reminds us less of the schoolmen than of the death of the elder Pliny.

If the interest of Aristippus centred in the philosophical writings of the Greeks, Eugene of Palermo was primarily a student of their mathematics. Of noble birth and nephew of the admiral Basil,³ he had himself risen to the dignity of admiral, or more accurately emir,⁴ in the royal administration, while his intellectual attainments won him also the title of 'the philosopher.' We are indebted to him for a Latin version, made from the Arabic, of a work which would otherwise have been lost, the *Optica* of Ptolemy, the translation having been preserved in as many as sixteen manuscripts and having recently been printed;⁵ and it is not

¹ Rose, *l. c.*, p. 385.

² *Ibid.*, p. 388: *atqui theologia, mathematica, meteorologica tibi propono theorematum.*

³ *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XI, p. 449: Στίχοι Εὐγενίου φιλοσόφου, ἀνεψίου Βασιλείου τοῦ ἀμειρά. *Ibid.*, p. 408: τὸν πανευγενέστατον ἄρχοντα κυρὸν Εὐγένιον. *Infra*, p. 94: Εὐγενὴς Εὐγένιος.

⁴ On the significance of this title at the Sicilian court see Caspar, *Roger II*, p. 301; Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande*, II, p. 637. The admiral Eugene who appears under Roger I in documents of 1093 and following (Caspar, *l. c.*, n. 7) must have been another person, but the translator was probably the father of Ἰωάννης, υἱὸς τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου ἄρχοντος κυρίου Εὐγενίου ἀμειράδος, who sells a garden in Palermo in 1201 (Cusa, *I diplomî greci ed arabi di Sicilia*, p. 89; cf. p. 23). Cf. Hartwig, in *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, III, p. 173.

⁵ Described by Boncompagni, *Intorno ad una traduzione latina dell' ottica di Tolomeo*, *Bullettino di bibliografia e di storia delle scienze matematiche*, IV, pp. 470-492, VI, pp. 159-170; and edited by Govi, *L' ottica di Claudio Tolomeo da Eugenio ammiraglio di Sicilia ridotta in latino* (Turin, 1885). To the MSS. there enumerated

surprising to learn that he had at hand the Greek text of Euclid's *Data*, *Optica*, and *Catoptrica*, as well as the treatise of Proclus on mechanics (*Physica Elementa sive De Motu*), and was sufficiently familiar with them to give instruction in the difficult matter of the *Almagest*. All of this implies a knowledge of languages, as well as no mean attainment in applied mathematics, and fully justifies the characterization of our preface, *virum tam grece quam arabice lingue peritissimum, latine quoque non ignarum*.¹ His native tongue was evidently Greek, and he had sufficient mastery of it to produce fourteen hundred lines of verse which entitle him to an important place among the west-Greek writers of the Middle Ages.² Of the twenty-four short poems which make up this collection, the greater number are epigrams on various virtues and vices. A few deal with religious subjects, such as the Crucifixion or the ascetic life. Three are addressed to a poet-priest of Brindisi; one celebrates the seclusion of a monastic cemetery, probably that of S. Salvatore of Messina; another describes a plant in the poet's garden at Palermo. Another writer of the time appears in Roger of Otranto, who addresses certain lines to him. One of Eugene's poems is an extravagant laudation of King William (*πρὸς τὸν ἐνδοξότατον τροπαιοῦχον ῥῆγα Γουλιέλμον*); another, written in prison, seems to mark the close of his public career, from which he turns to solitude and books. We are tempted to

should be added one in the library of the University of Cracow (Narducci, in *Bibliotheca mathematica*, 1888, p. 98) and Suppl. grec 263 of the Bibliothèque Nationale. On the loss of both the Greek original and the Arabic translation, see Steinschneider, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, L, p. 216. There is no evidence for Amari's assumption (*Storia dei Musulmani*, III, p. 660) that Eugene's translation was made under Roger, nor for Steinschneider's (*Vienna Sitzungsberichte*, CXLIX, 4, p. 13), that it belongs to 1154.

¹ This is also borne out by Eugene's own statement (*Optica*, ed. Govi, p. 3): Arabicam in grecam aut latinam transferre volenti tanto difficilior est quanto maior diversitas inter illas tam in verbis et nominibus quam in litterali compositione reperitur.

These poems are contained in a MS. of the Laurentian described by Bandini, *Catalogus Codicum Mss. Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, I, pp. 23-30; cf. Krumbacher², 768-770. They have recently been published by Sternbach, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XI, pp. 406-451 (emendations to the text, *ibid.*, XIV, 468-478, XVI, pp. 454-459, XVII, pp. 430-431). That the poet and the translator were the same person, which Sternbach considers uncertain, is rendered highly probable by our text, which shows that the mathematician was a Greek and lived in the period to which the poems belong.

seek here some connection with the imprisonment of Aristippus, in which case the King William of the poem would be William I, to whom for other reasons it seems better suited than to William II.¹ Indeed, while our prologue places Eugene's mathematical studies in the time of William I, we cannot be certain that he was alive, or, if alive, engaged in secular pursuits under William II.²

¹ Krumbacher leaves the question open as among the three Williams but says, 'Manches spricht für Wilhelm II.' Sternbach (p. 409) decides for William II. Chronological considerations, as well as the weakness of the royal power, would seem to rule out William III, but it is not easy in the case of a eulogy of this kind to distinguish with much certainty between the other two kings of this name. On the whole, however, it does not seem that such verses, if, as seems likely, they were written at the beginning of a reign, could with much propriety or purpose have been addressed to the thirteen-year old William II, who remained under the tutelage of his mother for five years after his accession, while there is nothing which is inapplicable to William I. Sternbach indeed argues that lines 29-35 could not relate to William I as the successor of the first king of the Norman dynasty; but one king is enough to start a royal line (*βασίλικὴν τὴν ῥίξιν*), and the reference to the achievements of his fathers (*τὰ πατέρων βέλτιστα*) does not necessarily imply that they were all kings, for Roger I was glorious enough as duke to deserve inclusion in any such comparison. Indeed the passage has more point in the case of William I, as the son of the first Sicilian king: he will enlarge his authority even more than did his father who began as duke and ended as king (*μέγα τι λαβὼν κρείττον ἀντιπαρέχεις*). On resemblances between this poem and one of George of Gallipoli, addressed to Frederick II, see Horna, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XVI, p. 458; and cf. Sola, *ibid.*, XVII, p. 430.

² One of his poems, it is true (No. XIV, ed. Sternbach, p. 434), mentions an abbot Onofrius, who is probably to be identified with the archimandrite of San Salvatore di Messina who appears in documents of 1175-1178 (Pirro, *Sicilia Sacra*, edition of 1733, II, pp. 979, 980; Cusa, *I diplomî greci ed arabi*, p. 371; Garufi, *I documenti inediti dell' epoca normanna in Sicilia*, p. 168). We do not, however, know in what year he became archimandrite, for the current statement (e.g. Batiffol, in *Revue des Questions Historiques*, XLII, p. 555) that he entered upon this office in 1175 has no support beyond an erroneous assertion of Pirro (p. 979) that his predecessor Lucas died in that year. Pirro says that this date is proved from the records of the monastery, but his handling of the matter does not create confidence in his citation. He quotes an obituary notice in Latin which places the death of Lucas on Saturday the third of the kalends of March in the year 6688 of the Byzantine era (= A.D. 1180), and plausibly explains the obvious impossibility of this date by a misunderstanding of the Greek computation; but he does not notice that in both 1175, the date he proposes, and in 1180 the third of the kalends of March fell, not on Saturday, but on Thursday. In order to find this coincidence before the bull of October, 1175,

Eugene the admiral is likewise associated with the transmission to the West of two curious bits of Oriental literature. One is the prophecy which became widely current in the later Middle Ages under the name of the Erythraean Sibyl, an oracular forecast of the doings of kings and emperors¹ which purports to have been translated from the Chaldaean by Doxopater and kept in the treasury of the Emperor Manuel, whence it passed westward and was translated by 'Eugene, admiral of the kingdom of Sicily.'² By Doxopater is probably meant a contemporary of Eugene, Nilus Doxopatres, a Greek ecclesiastic who sojourned at Palermo and afterward appears as imperial *nomophylax* at Constantinople, and who wrote in 1143, at the instigation of Roger II, a history of the five patriarchates.³ In its present form, however, the Sibylline text plainly belongs to the middle of the thirteenth century and shows the influence of the Joachimite friars and the movements of Frederick II's reign,⁴ so that it has been usual to dismiss the attribution to Doxopater and Eugene as an attempt to support the prophetic character of the

which mentions Onofrius, we must go back to 1171 or 1165. Now an extract from a charter of William II refers to the grant of certain lands 'in Agro' made by him and his mother (her regency ended in 1171) to Onofrius, meaning doubtless a charter of 1168 for San Salvatore (Pirro, p. 979; on the date see Chalandon, *Domination normande*, II, p. 336) in which the abbot is not named. If, accordingly, Onofrius was in office in 1168 and if we can trust the obituary for the day, his predecessor, who is not mentioned in the documents subsequent to 1149, must have died at least as early as 1165, so that a poem might have been addressed to Onofrius in the reign of William I.

¹ Published by Alexandre, *Oracula Sibyllina*, II (Paris, 1856), pp. 291-294; and more fully by Holder-Egger, *Italienische Prophetieen des 13. Jahrhunderts*, *Neues Archiv*, XV, pp. 155-173, XXX, pp. 323-335 (cf. XXXIII, pp. 97, 101, 102).

² Neither of the editors gives a good text of this title. The ms. of St. Mark's, Cl. X, 158, reads as follows (Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca*, IV, p. 108): Extractum de libro vasilographia in imperiali scriptura quem Sybilla erythrea babilonica ad petitionem Graecorum regis Priami edidit, quem caldae sermone Doxopater peritissimus transtulit, tandem de aerario Manuelis imperatoris eductum Eugenius regni Siciliae admiratus de graeco transtulit in latinum.

³ See Krumbacher², p. 415; Caspar, *Roger II*, pp. 346-354; Harris, *Further Researches into the History of the Ferrar-Group* (London, 1900), pp. 52 ff.

⁴ Holder-Egger, *l. c.*, XV, p. 150, dates it 1251-1254, but Kampers, *Kaiserprophetieen und Kaisersagen im Mittelalter* (Heigel and Grauert's *Historische Abhandlungen*, VIII), p. 252, has shown reason for placing it a few years earlier.

oracle by a further bit of mystification.¹ The matter cannot, however, be so lightly set aside. While it is plain that the current version of this text belongs to Italy and the thirteenth century, it is equally clear that these oracles are of eastern origin. Both Greeks and Saracens had such Sibylline books,² and we find mention of their preservation in the imperial library under Leo the Armenian and again toward the close of the eleventh century.³ The connection with the West must be made at some point, and the statement that the text was brought from Manuel's treasury and was translated by Eugene is in entire accord with what we have already seen of the transmission of manuscripts and of the activity of the admiral as a translator. Even in its present form the text shows traces of Sicilian origin and of earlier elements,⁴ and a comparison of all the manuscripts and a genetic study of the whole may succeed in restoring the nucleus and explaining its development.⁵

The other oriental work to which the name of the Sicilian admiral has become attached is the Sanskrit fable of Kalila and Dimna, first turned into Greek by Simeon Seth toward the close of the eleventh century under the title of *Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰχνηλάτης* and widely popular in various western versions as a treatment of the relations of princes to their subjects.⁶ In one group of manuscripts of the Greek version the translator is described in the following lines:⁷

¹ See the doubts expressed by Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani*, III, pp. 460, 660-662; Hartwig, in *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, III, pp. 174-176; Harris, *Further Researches*, p. 70; Steinschneider, in *Vienna Sitzungsberichte*, CXLIX, 4, p. 13; Caspar, *Roger II*, p. 462, n. 4. The difficulty is not discussed by Holder-Egger or Kampers.

² Liutprand, *Legatio*, ed. Dümmler (Hanover, 1877), pp. 152-153: *Habent Graeci et Saraceni libros quos ὁράσεις, sive visiones, Danielis vocant, ego autem Sibyllanos; in quibus scriptum reperitur, quot annis imperator quisque vivat; quae sint futura, eo imperitante, tempora; pax, an simulas; secundae Saracenorum res, an adversae.*

³ Cont. Theophanis, I, 22, ed. Bonn, p. 36; Georgius Cedrenus, ed. Bonn, II, p. 63. Cf. Alexandre, *l. c.*, II, pp. 287-311; Krumbacher², pp. 627 ff.

⁴ See *Neues Archiv*, XV, pp. 163, 167, 168, 171, 172, 173.

⁵ So Kampers arrives at the same view from a study of the thirteenth century version: 'Mutmasslich gab es eine eryth. Sibylle, die kein Ereignis über das Jahr 1200 hinaus behandelte.' *l. c.*, p. 253.

⁶ See in general Krumbacher², pp. 895-897. The Greek text is edited by Puntoni, *Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰχνηλάτης* (Florence, 1889), as the second volume of the *Pubblicazioni della Società Asiatica Italiana*.

⁷ Coxé, *Catalogus Codicum Mss. Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, I, c. 814; Puntoni, *l. c.*, p. vi. Puntoni entirely ignores the problem raised by these lines.

μυθικὴ βίβλος ἐξ Ἰνδικῆς σοφίας,
 προσενεχθείσα πρὸς Περσικὴν παιδείαν,
 αἰνιγματωδῶς συντείνουσα τὰς πράξεις,
 πρὸς βιωτικὴν συντείνουσα τὰς πράξεις·
 ἢ μεταβληθείσα πρὸς γλῶσσαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων
 ἐξ Ἀραβικοῦ καὶ βαρβαρώδους ὕθλον
 παρὰ τοῦ σοφοῦ, ἐνδόξου καὶ μεγάλου
 τοῦ καὶ Ἀμηνῶ, καὶ ῥιγὸς Σικελίας
 Καλαβρίας τε πρίνκιπος Ἰταλίας·
 οὐσπερ εὐρικῶς, ὡς γνωστικοὺς τοῖς πᾶσιν
 τοῦτο δέδωκε πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸ βιβλίον,
 ὥσπερ δῶρημα, διδασκαλίας πλέον,
 Εὐγενὴς Εὐγένιος, ὁ τῆς Πανόρμου.

Here, while Eugene is mentioned by name only as the donor of the book, there can be no doubt that he is the 'wise and glorious admiral' to whom the translation is attributed; but, although the attribution is thus seen to be contemporary, it can hardly be correct. The divergences from the other groups of manuscripts do not appear sufficient to establish an independent translation, and when the preface goes on to explain that the Greek version was made with the assistance of 'certain men well acquainted with the Arabic tongue,'¹ we may feel reasonably sure that these are the words of Simeon Seth rather than of the learned admiral, whose familiarity with Arabic is attested by his rendering of the *Optica* as well as by the preface printed below. It would seem probable that what we have is a revision of Seth's translation at Eugene's hands, no great achievement in itself, but interesting to us as a further illustration of the range of the admiral's labors and interests.

The popularity of the *Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰχνηλάτης* in Byzantine circles in the twelfth century is also seen from the following unpublished verses, which are found at the close of the copy of the fable in MS. Gr. 2231 of the Bibliothèque Nationale: ²

¹ Puntoni, *l. c.*, p. vii: ἐπὶ τούτων καὶ τισιν ἀνδράσι χρησάμενοι, ἀντιλαμβανομένοι τῇ ἡμῶν προθυμίᾳ, εὖ εἰδότες τῆς τῶν ἀράβων γλώσσης.

² On the MS. see *Catalogus Codicum Mss. Bibliothecae Regiae*, II, p. 466; and Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des Mss. grecs*, II, p. 218.

Ceramei Georgii versus iambici super precedenti libro

Τοῦ κεραμέου γεωργίου στίχοι ἐπὶ τῇδε¹ τῇ βίβλῳ

- Εἵπῃς *λιλίν² ἂν τὴν παροῦσαν πυκτίδα,
 *ὄνυννιά² παίζουσιν ἐκ θυμηδίας.
 περσωνυμικὴν³ ἀπιδὼν κλῆσιν φίλος,
 καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν λόγων κοινὴν φράσιν.
 5 δι⁴ ἣς πίθηκες καὶ λεόντων τὰ κράτη.
 τῶν ἐλεφάντων καὶ κοράκων τὰ γένη
 ταύρων χελωνῶν βατράχων καὶ δορκάδων
 νηττῶν μυῶν τε καὶ περιστερῶν ἄμα
 κιττῶν τε κύκνων ἰχθύων καὶ καρκίνων
 10 καὶ τῶν σκολιῶν ἔρπετῶν ἢ κακία,
 συντυγχάνουσιν οἷσπερ οὐκέστι λόγος.
 εἰ δ' οὖν λογικὰ τὰ πρόσωπά μοι κρίνης,
 καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς σύνεσιν καταμάθῃς,
 εὖρης ἀπάντων σωφρονέστατον βίον.
 15 φεύγων ἀφορμὰς τῶν κακίστων κολάκων.
 νοῶν πονηροὺς ἐκτρέπων σκαιοτρόπους.
 φίλους ἀφίλους συγκρίνων διακρίνων.
 καὶ πάντα πράττων εὐμαρῶς καὶ κοσμίως.
 ὡς γοῦν κάλυκα περιφρουροῦσαν ῥόδον,
 20 ὡς ὄστρεον μάργαρον ἐμφέρων μέγαν.
 βαλάντιον σκύτινον ὡς χρυσοῦ γέμον,
 κιβώτιον ξύλινον ὡς πλήρες λίθων,
 ἰάσπεών τε λυχνιτῶν ἐξανθράκων,
 ἔχων τὸ παρὸν κλεινὴ Παλαιολόγε,
 25 ἀγλαοφανὲς παγκλεέστατε κλάδε,
 τοῦ τρισμεγίστου καὶ βριαροῦ δεσπότη,
 Ἄνδρόνικε κάλλιστε φυτὸν χαρίτων,
 βιβλίον εὖ ἔγκυπτε τοῖς ἐγκειμένοις.
 καὶ συνετίξου καὶ φρονήσει σεμνίνου
 30 καὶ πάντα πράττε καθαπερεὶ συμφέρον,
 ὡς ὑποδρηστήρ τῶν μεγάλων ἀνάκτων,

¹ Iota subscript omitted throughout in MS.

² In these unintelligible words there may lurk a corruption of Kalila and Dimna.

³ Marginal gloss τὴν ἀρραβικὴν.

⁴ Marginal gloss γρά[φεται] ἐν ᾧ.

δόξης ταχινώτατος ἐν τοῖς πρακτέοις ·
 ὡς τοῖς προσεγγίζουσί σοι κατὰ¹ γένος,
 φανείς ἀξιόγαστος ἐν πᾶσι λόγοις ·
 35 ἡμῖν δ' ἀλιτροῖς οἰκέταις σοῖς ἀθλίους,
 μέγα παρηγόρημα καὶ θυμηδία.

The Andronicus to whom these lines are addressed cannot be the fifteenth-century humanist Andronicus Callistus,² for the ms. is of the thirteenth century. He is, moreover, a man of royal descent who holds a high place in the service of the emperor, and should doubtless be identified with the Andronicus Palaeologus who led a division of the imperial army in the war with the Normans in 1185³ and is addressed in one of the letters of Glykas.⁴ Georgius Cerameus has a couple of lines given him in Fabricius on the basis of the mention of these verses in the Paris catalogue,⁵ but nothing further is known of him unless he is the same as the distinguished preacher of the middle of the twelfth century, whom recent investigation makes archbishop of Rossano.⁶ His sermons bear the name of Cerameus and most commonly of Theophanes Cerameus, but five or six other Christian names, among them George, are given in different manuscripts. Nothing can be definitely affirmed until the problem of the authorship of the sermons is straightened out, but if it should appear that Georgius Cerameus was a Calabrian archbishop, or a western Greek of any sort, another connection will thereby be established between Constantinople and the West in the twelfth century.

Further investigation may very likely reveal still other points of contact between Sicily and the East, and other lines of influence on the

¹ Ms. προσεγγίζουσι σοὶ κατα.

² Besides, the humanist was not a Palaeologus. See Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique*, I, pp. 1-lvii. κάλλιστε in our text is thus an adjective, not a proper name.

³ Nicetas Acominates [Choniata], ed. Bonn, p. 412; Eustathius, ed. Bonn, p. 430.

⁴ Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, CLVIII, coll. xxxv, 933; Krumbacher, in Munich *Sitzungsberichte*, 1894, pp. 422, 425. On the claim of the Palaeologus family to imperial descent, see Otto of Freising, *Gesta Frederici*, ed. Waitz, p. 116; Hase, in *Notices et extraits des Mss.*, IX, 2, pp. 153 ff.

⁵ *Bibliotheca Graeca* (1790-1809), XI, p. 327, XII, p. 43. He is overlooked by Krumbacher.

⁶ Lancia di Brolo, *Storia della chiesa in Sicilia* (Palermo, 1884), II, pp. 459-492; Krumbacher, *Byz. Litteratur*², pp. 172-174; Caspar, *Roger II*, pp. 459 ff.

intellectual life of northern Europe. Thus while Adelard of Bath, the translator of Euclid, doubtless got his familiarity with Saracen learning in the course of the extensive travels which took him as far east as Syria,¹ our curiosity is tempted by the fact that he studied at Salerno and in Magna Graecia, and dedicated his *De eodem et diverso* to William, bishop of Syracuse, whom he credits with much mathematical knowledge.² John of Salisbury, who made more than one journey into southern Italy and learned to drink the heavy wines of the Sicilian chancellor, studied with a *grecus interpres*, a native of Santa Severina, who occupied himself with Aristotle;³ and it was doubtless in this region that the English humanist gained his acquaintance with the *Posterior Analytics*, which he is the first northern author to cite,⁴ and which Aristippus mentions among the works available in Sicily. John's pupil, Peter of Blois, who, like his master, advocated the cause of the classics against the rising tide of logical studies, had likewise been in Sicily, where he acted as *sigillarius* and tutor to the young William II.⁵

We must, of course, not exaggerate the importance of this Sicilian movement. In spite of its more immediate contact with Greek sources,

¹ *Questiones naturales* (MS. Lat. 6415 of the Bibliothèque Nationale), c. 32: Cum enim nuper a parte orientali venires qua causa studii diutissime steteras. C. 16: Audiui enim quendam senem apud Tharsum Cilicie. C. 51: Cum semel in partibus Antiochenis pontem civitatis Manistre transires, ipsum pontem simul etiam totam ipsam regionem terre motu contremuisse. . . .

² *De eodem et diverso*, ed. Willner, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, IV, 1 (Münster, 1903), p. 3: Tibi igitur, Willelme, Syracusie presul, omnium mathematicarum artium eruditissime. P. 33: Et ego certe, cum a Salerno veniens in Grecia maiore quendam philosophum grecum, qui pre ceteris artem medicine naturasque rerum disserebat, sententiis pretemptarem. Cf. p. 32: Quod enim gallica studia nesciunt, transalpina reserabunt; quod apud latinos non addisces, Grecia facunda docebit. William, formerly dean of Syracuse, attests as bishop in 1112; his successor is in office in 1117. Pirro, *Sicilia Sacra*, I, p. 620; Garufi, *I documenti inediti dell' epoca normanna*, pp. 10, 14.

³ Schaarschmidt, *Johannes Saresberiensis* (Leipzig, 1862), pp. 120-122; Rose, in *Hermes*, I, pp. 379-381; Poole, in *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXIX, p. 444; Webb, *Ioannis Saresberiensis Policraticus*, I, pp. xxv-xxvii, II, p. 259, note. Cf. the indication of the Sicilian translator's acquaintance with the *De caelo*, p. 82, n. 3.

⁴ Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*², I, pp. 533, 539; cf. Haskins, in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XX, pp. 89, 92.

⁵ *Epistolae*, Nos. 10, 46, 66, 72, 90, 93, 116, 131, in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CCVII, coll. 27, 133, 195, 221, 281, 291, 345, 386, 397.

it shows less vitality than the contemporary humanism of the North, and its translations were less important, both in quantity and in influence, than the great body of material which came through the Saracens of Spain. Still, these Sicilian scholars have an honorable place in the history of European learning. At a time when Latin Europe was just advancing from the Boethian manuals to Euclid's *Elements*, they were familiar with geometrical analysis and applied mathematics as presented in the most advanced works of Euclid and in Ptolemy's *Optics*, and they had come into possession of the chief work of ancient astronomy, the *Almagest*. In philosophy they appear to have acquired the *New Logic* of Aristotle somewhat earlier than their northern contemporaries, and they had likewise an acquaintance with certain dialogues of Plato and with Diogenes Laertius. Theology and ecclesiastical history were not neglected, and a group of New Testament manuscripts has been traced to Sicilian copyists.¹ The school of Salerno was the leading medical school of Europe. Libraries existed, and the search for ancient manuscripts was carried on. Sicilian scholars could write decent Greek, and — when they were not translating — decent Latin, and they could venture, not without success, into the field of original verse. Within its limits the intellectual movement at the court of King Roger and his son had many of the elements of a Renaissance, and like the great revival of the fourteenth century, it owed much to princely favor. It was at the kings' request that translations were undertaken and the works of Nilus and Edrisi were written, and it was no accident that two such scholars as Aristippus and Eugene of Palermo occupied high places in the royal administration. In their patronage of learning, as well as in the enlightened and anti-feudal character of their government, the Sicilian sovereigns, from Roger to Frederick II, belong to the age of the new statecraft and the humanistic revival.

¹ See Harris, *Further Researches into the History of the Ferrar-Group*.

Ms. Vat. Lat. 2056, f. I-IV.¹

I am pingendi Gratias antiqui feruntur habuisse consuetudinem,
ut unam quidem vultum aversam, due quibus illa manum porri-
geret² aspectarent. Cuius misterii non ignarus dudum memoriter³
teneo gratiam simplam profectam duplam reverti oportere. Tui
5 ergo boni muneris memor,⁴ quo earum quas Aristotiles⁵ acrivestatas
vocat artium doctrina quasi haustu aque vive animum sitientem
liberaliter imbuisti, olim quidem anxie queritabam quid tue dignum
benivolentie possem referre. Nec enim eis que philosophie tardus
asecla longo pauperis⁶ exertitio conquisiveram purus ingenii torrens
10 fons et domus artium pectus indigebat. Opes quoque apud earum
contemptorem minimum promereri⁷ non dubius intelligebam. An-
gebatur ergo in dies magis ac magis animus meus eo molestius susti-
nens votum quo complendi voti absolutius facultas negabatur. Verum
diutini clamorem desiderii superna tandem pietas exaudivit, dignum
15 ut arbitror plene tribuens remunerationis instrumentum. Quod tuum
tanto ut tua pace loquar minus precedit, quanto finis eo quod ad
finem laudabilius. Nec enim tuum latet acumen quod omni sapienti
liquet, numerorum mensurarumque scientiam ad eam que astrorum
quasi quandam introductionis pontem prestruere. Huius vero eam
20 partem que siderum motus specculatur, veterum lima, speculum
modernorum, Claudius Ptolomeus astrorum scientie peritissimus .XIII.
perscripsit libris. Qui a grecis quidem mathematica seu meguisti⁸
sintaxis, a saracenis vero elmeguisti corrupto nomine appellantur.
Hos autem cum Salerni medicine insudassem audiens quendam ex
25 nuntiis regis Scicilie quos ipse Constantinopolim miserrat nomine
Aristipum largicione susceptos imperatoria Panormum transvexisse,
rei diu desiderate spe succensus, Scilleos latractus non exhorui,
Caripdim permeavi, ignea Ethene fluentia circuiui, eum queritans a
quo mei finem sperabam desiderii. Quem tandem inventum Perguse
30 prope fontem Ethnea miracula satis cum periculo perscrutantem,
cum occulte quidem alia, manifeste vero mens scientie siderum
expers prefatum michi transferre opus prohiberent, grecis ego litteris
diligentissime preinstructus, primo quidem in Euclidis Dedomenis,

¹ The text of the translator's preface is here printed exactly as it appears in the MS., except for such corrections as seem necessary to make the meaning clear. In all such cases the MS. reading is given in the notes.

² Ms. porrigerent, altered to porrigeret.

³ Ms. moriter.

⁴ Ms. memoror.

⁵ *De caelo*, 3, 7, 306A.

⁶ Some noun in agreement with 'pauperis' has probably dropped out.

⁷ Ms. promerri.

⁸ = megiste. Cf. apogeuon from ἀπόγειον, lib. X, passim.

Opticis, et Catoptricis, Phisicaque¹ Procli Elementatione preluſi.
 35 Dehinc vero prefatum Ptolomei opus aggreſſus, expoſitorem propi-
 tium divina michi gratia providente Eugenium, virum tam² grece
 quam arabice lingue peritiſſimum, latine quoque non ignarum, illud
 contra viri diſcoli voluntatem latine dedi orationi. In quo nimirum
 40 niſi ſuperande difficultatis auctor potentiſſimus amor tui tuumque
 munus animum crebra mutui repetitione³ pulſarent. Neque enim
 queſtus ſpe motus aut gloria iſtum potui laborem ſubſtinere, cum
 liquido conſtet ſpei locum artifice non relinqui, ubi ars ludibrio eſt
 et dedecori.⁴ Neque enim artificem mirari poteſt qui artem non
 45 miratur. Senſiſti vero et tu nonnullos⁵ hiſ in temporibus cauſe
 quam ignorant iudices⁶ audaciſſimos, qui ne minus ſcientes videan-
 tur, quecunque neſciunt inutilia predicant aut profana. Iuxta quod
 arabes dicunt: Nullus maior artis inimicus quam qui expertus eſt
 ipſius. Eoque pertinacius criminandis inſtant artibus quo ab earum
 50 laude imperitiæ probrum certius ſibi conſpiciunt imminere.⁷ Eos
 omitto qui honeſtatis zelo honeſta quoque ſtudia perſequuntur.
 Quos pie peccare recte dixerim dum nocivam curarum putredinem
 recidere concedentes, a ſanarum altrice curarum philoſophia manum
 minime continent indiſcretam, ſed et eam ipſius partem gravi
 55 criminatione perſequuntur que ingeniis exquiſita clariſſimis et ex-
 culta quo defecatio ac purior eſt, eo ſapientie vocabulo dignior, eo
 grationi quadam compede ſpeculationis iocundiſſime animos ho-
 minum continet alligatos. Horum ſiquidem error ſive coloratus
 honeſto malitioſo quoque predictorum teſtimonio fretus, aput im-
 60 peritos quorum maxima eſt multitudo in bonarum negleſtum
 artium efficaciſſime peroravit, ut iam numerorum quidem meſura-
 rumque ſcientia omnino ſuperflua et inutilis, aſtronomie vero ſtadium
 ydolatria eſtimetur. Ita nimirum ſentiebat vir⁸ religioſus ac prudens
 cum dicebat: Hoc eſt igitur illud quadrivium quo hiſ iuvandum
 65 eſt qui a ſenſibus procreatis nobiſcum ad certiora intelligentie per-
 duci volunt. Eiſdem quoque Remigius⁹ atteſtatur dicens: Cum
 omnes artes penſundate eſſent, aput egiptios Abraam eos aſtrolo-

¹ Ms. ph'ica.⁵ Ms. non ullos.² Ms. tan.⁶ Ms. indices.³ Ms. repetitionē.⁷ Ms. imminē.⁴ Ms. decori.⁸ Boethius, *De Institutione Arithmetica*, I, 1 (ed. Friedlein, Teubner, 1867, p. 9, ll. 28 ff.): Hoc igitur illud quadrivium eſt, quo hiſ viandum ſit, quibus excellentior animus a nobiſcum procreatis ſenſibus ad intelligentie certiora perducitur.⁹ Probably from the unpublished commentary of Remigius on Martianus Capella. Cf. *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, 8, 812.

giam docuisse. Sed et secundum Moysem secundumque Daniele
 Dominus credo ob astrorum scientiam reprobavit. Stultum quippe
 70 creatoris opera contemplari, eorumque speculatione ineffabilem
 ipsius potentiam ac sapientiam detestabilius ammirari. Nefarium
 quoque penitusque liquet illicitum¹ ad conditoris cognitionem con-
 ditorum cognitione animum sublevare, creatorem insensibilem sensi-
 bilium speculatione sibi quodam modo sensibilem comparare. O
 75 mentes cecas viamque philosophandi penitus ignorantes! A creatura
 siquidem mundi invisibilia Dei intellecta conspiciuntur,² nec satis
 insensibilium veritatem percipere potest mens humana nisi ad eam
 preludio sensibilibus sibi viam facultatemque preexcuderit. Hinc a
 sapientibus constitutus est ac diligenter observatus hic studiorum
 80 ordo, ut primo quidem ingenite nebulas ruditatis diligenti creatorum
 disquisitione serenarent,³ omnibus quidem sed eis potissimum invigi-
 lando disciplinis, que ipsam sine omni erroris devio sine omni
 scrupulo dubitationis veritatem contemplantes oculum mentis
 85 Boetio⁴ teste rursus illuminant,⁵ deinde vero robore hoc animati in
 theologica exercitatione mentis atiem fiducialiter intendebant.
 Unde et ab ordine docendi et discendi theologiam methaphysicam
 nominabant. Verum nostri nimirum aquile hoc quasi quodam
 volimine giganteo minime indigent omni creaturarum aminiculo
 radiis summe lucis oculos infigere potentissimi atque summe
 90 secreta veritatis efficaciter penetrare. Vix rudimentis a puerilibus
 celum involant⁶ terrasque habitare dedignantur. Super nubes eorum
 conversatio, atque in ipso summe sinu sapientie sese requiescere
 gloriantur. Mundanam despuunt⁷ sapientiam, eique vacantium deli-
 ramenta subsannant. Tibi vero, vir mentis serenissime, longe alia
 95 mens est. Tu sacras artes et propter se appetendas, scientibus
 dulces, insciis adorandas rectissime arbitraris. Nec vero tuum fallit
 acumen quoniam⁸ perfectio habitudinis⁹ in plenitudine existit con-

¹ Ms. illicitam.

² Rom. I, 20: Invisibilia enim ipsius a creatura mundi per ea quae facta sunt intellecta conspiciuntur.

³ Ms. serenaretur.

⁴ Boethius, *De Institutione Arithmetica*, I, 1 (ed. Friedlein, p. 10, ll. 1-7): Sunt enim quidam gradus certaeque progressionum dimensiones, quibus ascendi progredi-que possit, ut animi illum oculum . . . demersum orbatumque corporeis sensibus hae disciplinae rursus inluminent.

⁵ Ms. illuminantur.

⁶ Ms. inuoluant.

⁷ In MS. apparently despuant altered to despuūt by first hand.

⁸ Ms. qnn altered to qm.

⁹ Ms. habitudinis, crossed out by a corrector, who wrote 'vel beatitudinis' in the margin.

gnitionis, quo sciendo proficimus, hoc accessum ad¹ beatitudinem
 fieri presertim cum otio quidem mens corrumpatur, studium vero
 100 virtutis sit amicum. Preclarum² quoque tibi credo videtur, in quo
 prestat³ homo ceteris animantibus hominem homini prenittere.⁴
 Hinc insurgendum summisque viribus iudicas incumbendum⁵ ut
 omni scientie genere mens illustretur, ad beatitudinem preparetur,
 suo proprio bono decoretur. Tui ergo tibi que simillium gratia
 105 presentem ego laborem hunc suscepi. Quibus si placeo intentio
 quoque mea michi perfecta est. Rideant et exultent artium inimici,
 ignota iudicent, astrorum studium insaniam predicent. Michi
 confiteor hec insania dulcis, michi dulce clamare cum Nasone:

Felices⁶ anime quibus hoc cognoscere primum
 110 Inque domos superas scandere cura fuit!

Faveas ergo summisque tibi vigiliis opus elaboratum benignus queso
 suscipias. Illud tamen unum super omnia moneo ac rogo ut ea qua
 et in geometricis usus es⁷ docendis discretione collaudanda ad huius
 operis lectionem dignos admittas, indignos abicias. Suam quippe
 115 rebus dignis adimet dignitatem, si quis eam communicaverit indignis.⁸

¹ Ms. ad, added by first hand above the line.

² Ms. Predarum.

³ Sallust, *De Coniuratione Catilinae*, I, 1: Omnis homines, qui sese student
 praestare ceteris animalibus, . . .

⁴ Ms. premittere, altered to prenittere by first hand.

⁵ Ms. incubendum.

⁶ Ovid, *Fasti*, I, 297-298. In the text of Merkel-Ehwald (Teubner, 1889):

Felices animae, quibus haec cognoscere primis
 Inque domus superas scandere cura fuit!

⁷ Ms. \overline{ee} (= esse).

⁸ In the MS. 'cum' is inserted above the line by a corrector.

ON A PASSAGE IN PINDAR'S FOURTH NEMEAN ODE

BY CHARLES E. WHITMORE

THERE is a passage in the fourth Nemean (vv. 25 ff.) which has, I think, not yet been properly interpreted either in itself or in its relation to the entire ode. I wish to set forth an interpretation which aims to elucidate the passage with less violence to the words than previous expounders have found necessary, and also to show its bearing on the progress of thought in the entire poem.

The crux of the passage lies in the words in v. 30, ἀπειρομάχας κτλ. They are preceded by a brief myth of Heracles — his victories at Troy and Cos, and over the giant Alcyoneus, though in the latter case not before twelve chariots and their twenty-four occupants had been destroyed. The traditional view of the lines after v. 30 may be represented by the following translation: 'Inexperienced in strife would he seem who should not understand this tale; for it is meet that he who does aught should suffer also. But to tell the tale at length the ordinance forbids me, and the pressing hours; and I am drawn by keen desire to touch on the new-moon festival; yet despite all this — resist conspiracy!' I think that most readers will experience a sense of surprise at this sudden shift from the telling of a tale to the resisting of a conspiracy, with the following attack on some rival, and the proud affirmation of the poet's own powers. It is surely natural that when a person gives three reasons why he should not do a certain thing, and then asserts, 'But in spite of these reasons I will —,' he intends to revert to the course that the reasons just cited would impede him from following. How then are we to find a correspondence between the two parts of our passage? There would seem to be, on the older view, a curious incoherence, hardly to be justified by an appeal to the traditional Pindaric 'abruptness.' If it can be shown that this incoherence further requires us to do violence to the normal meanings of some of the words, we may endeavor to ascertain whether the usual significances of these words may not give us suggestions for a new and more coherent interpretation.

If ἀπειρομάχας κτλ. refers to the contest of Heracles and Alcyoneus, one may fairly ask what there is in this reference so cryptic as to require one experienced in strife for its solution? The scholiast is troubled because Pindar does not explicitly say that Heracles conquered, and thinks the phrase designed to indicate the true issue; but I cannot see that the text leaves the outcome so obscure. One rather half-hearted view suggests that it was necessary to *explain* that the destruction of twelve chariots involved the deaths of twenty-four men, because there were two men to a chariot; a fact which most intelligent Greeks must have learned in boyhood from their study of Homer. Most editors judiciously ignore the point, Bury, e. g., remarking that the tale will be understood by the Theandridai, who are not inexperienced, but πείραν ἔχοντες (v. 76), and especially by Timasarchos, who had really earned his victory. But even on this showing I fail to see what it is in the myth which their experience enables them to understand, and would otherwise remain obscure. The phrase seems to me too particular to be a mere tag to the myth. One would expect it to apply to the athlete; but is there also the possibility of a side reference to the poet himself? This question may be better answered after we have considered certain difficulties which immediately follow.

The first of these is the appropriateness of taking τὰ μακρὰ ἐξενέπειν to mean 'to tell the tale at length.' The reference to Heracles seems complete enough as it stands, without the need of any apology for its further neglect. I can find no place in Pindar where a myth is dropped before the poet has made as much use of it as he desires, where there is any allusion to the compulsion of external circumstances. There are odes in which two or three myths exist peacefully side by side, with no apology for their multiplicity. Take for example *O.* vii, where the tale of the wanderings of Tlepolemos, which occupies eighteen lines, is interrupted by nineteen describing the birth of Athena, and by twenty-three showing the allotment of Rhodes to Helios, without any suggestion that the poet has not devoted to each topic as much space as he saw fit. It is true that Pindar often ends a myth with the statement that he has gone too far, or that he must revert to another matter; but he is careful to finish his story before he thinks of this other obligation, and the office of this form of transition is to pass from the completed myth to the praise of the victor. Accordingly it occurs

toward the close of an ode. Typical instances are *P.* xi, 38 and *I.* vi, 56. An unusual case is *N.* iii, 26, where a similar formula is used to recall the poet from the incidental tale of the wanderings of Heracles to the real myth of the ode, the fortunes of the house of Aeacus. This is the closest parallel to our passage that can be adduced, but it is not a close one, since the poet merely breaks off one myth to go on directly to another. It would seem then that such an apology for lack of time to finish the myth as the traditional view supposes cannot be paralleled from Pindar's usage elsewhere in his epinikia. Moreover, later in this very ode we do find a formula of the nature of those we have been discussing, coming in its normal place, and with its usual office. At v. 69, after the marriage of Peleus and Thetis has been described, Pindar goes on: 'Duskward from Gades one cannot pass. Turn back the ship to the shore of Europe; for I cannot go through the whole tale of the sons of Aeacus.' Surely if a device whose manner of use we can clearly discover from other passages is employed in its regular fashion in our ode, it is hardly likely that it should have also been used earlier in that ode in an unparalleled way, and one not suited to the context; for the device is not one that would naturally be used twice in the same ode. Furthermore, why should Pindar apologize for leaving a myth so early in the ode, on the ground of lack of time, when a second mythical recital, occupying some twenty-five lines, is about to follow? How, if he could not complete the tale of Heracles, can he find space for a new story, told at considerable length?

What is the mysterious *τεθμός*, which, we are to suppose, cuts short the tale? Most commentators inform us that it is the structural law of the epinikion which forbade the devotion of more than a certain fixed space to each topic. Our survey of the use of several myths in a single ode has shown us how elastic, to say the least, such laws of structure must be. But does the word really denote such a law? Seven other cases of its use occur in the epinikia. Four of these (*O.* vi, 69; xiii, 29, 40; *N.* x, 33) refer to the divine ordinances under which the great games were established; two (*O.* viii, 25; *P.* i, 64) to moral ordinances; and only one (*O.* vii, 88) to a law of song, where the phrase is *ὑμνον τεθμὸν Ὀλυμπιονίκαν*. It would seem then somewhat doubtful whether *τεθμός* alone could denote a law of art. The use of *θέσις* for 'poetry' has been suggested to me as a parallel; but though the *Etymologicum*

Magnum (p. 391, 27) informs us that Pindar uses *θείσις* in that sense, and *τιθέναι* with the meaning 'compose,' no instance of such use occurs in any of his extant works. It is true that there is a solitary case of *θείσις* in *O.* iii, 8, but there the phrase is *ἐπέων θέσιν*, which is another matter. Obviously *ἐπέων θέσις* can mean poetical composition, just as *ῥυθμὸν τεθμός* can mean a law of song; but an actual instance of *θείσις* alone with the meaning 'poetry' is apparently lacking, and I doubt if *τεθμός* can denote a law of song without the addition, as in *O.* iii, of some qualifying word.

We have thus seen that in the current view the passage beginning at *ἀπειρομάχας* lacks relevancy to the myth; that we have no evidence that Pindar ever breaks off a myth because of lack of time, or that he ever apologizes for having done so, but that what he does do is to terminate a myth, at his convenience, in order that, toward the close of an ode, he may pass to the praise of the victor, and that we find a normal case of this in the ode under discussion; and that the supposed structural *τεθμός* which prevents his devoting all the space he desired to the Heracles story is a somewhat dubious conception. It remains to develop the points on which our new interpretation is to be based.

Let us begin with our myth of Heracles. He is a Theban hero, with whom the Theban poet may be expected to feel himself peculiarly in sympathy. But we are not left to conjecture on this point; in *O.* ix, 28 we find him making an explicit comparison between himself and Heracles, in the words *ἀγαθοὶ δὲ καὶ σοφοὶ κατὰ δαίμον' ἄνδρες | ἐγένοντ'*. As Professor Gildersleeve remarks, 'Heracles is a *κατὰ δαίμον'* *ἄνθρωπος*, as Pindar is a *κατὰ δαίμον'* *δοιδός*. Observe that he only carries out the thesis *ἀγαθοὶ κατὰ δαίμον' ἐγένοντο*, with Heracles as proof. The *σοφοί* he leaves apart, as savoring of presumption.' There is then no intrinsic unlikelihood of such an implied comparison between poet and hero in our ode.

We know that Pindar's career was by no means free from conflicts aroused by his art, from rivalries which, whatever material discomforts they may or may not have caused him, certainly led him to make several allusions to such rival poets, one of them in this very fourth Nemean, where he practically gives us a defence of his own art. It is surely not too much to assume that some at least of his Aeginetan

audience were sufficiently aware of this rivalry to be able to detect a passing allusion to it. In approaching his defence, then, Pindar thinks of the illustrious example of Heracles, who met with temporary checks, but achieved final triumphs; so an account of such an episode in the hero's career is skilfully brought into the ode by a reference to a victory won by Timasarchos at Thebes, where the mention of the "rich hall of Heracles" makes an easy transition to the myth. That duly recounted, the poet drops a hint of his coming defence by saying, 'Inexperienced in strife would he seem who should not understand the bearing of this tale; it is meet that he who does aught should suffer also.' Are we, however, justified in holding that ἀπειρομάχας may connote the strife of poets as well as of warriors?

We must remember that in the very nature of the case Pindar could not make this first allusion too definite. He was commissioned to write an ode for a victor, an ode concerned with the praise of that victor and his family; and any personal matter which he might choose to insert had to be, as it were, apologized for. In this instance we may suppose an ostensible connection between the myth and the victor; but it is to be noted that Telamon is the parallel to the victor, leaving Heracles free to serve as the poet's counterpart, as we have already seen that he might do. Now Pindar indisputably could use μάχη of an athletic contest; the famous athlete Diagoras is in *O.* vii, 15 called εὐθυμάχας, and in *O.* viii, 58 we have ἀνδρῶν μάχας ἐκ παγκρατίου. Furthermore, Pindar on occasion compares himself to an athlete; in *P.* i, 44 he prays that he may not cast the bronze-cheeked javelin beside the mark, but by a mighty throw may surpass his antagonists; in the latter phrase there is a certain tinge of polemic. In *I.* ii, 35 he becomes a full-fledged pankratiast (μακρὰ δισκήσais ἀκοντίσσαιμι), and we have just seen that the pankration was a μάχη. Here we have at least the elements for an equation: if the poet can be a pankratiast, and the pankration a μάχη, then an ἀγών of poets may be a μάχη too. One may also cite the striking expression of fr. 180, κέντρον δὲ μάχας ὁ κρατιστεύων λόγος. Accordingly it does not seem to me incredible that in an allusion Pindar should have implied a conflict of poets by ἀπειρομάχας. Whether he would have done so explicitly is of course another question; but I do not think that the idea can be shown to be contrary to Pindaric usage.

At this point Pindar feigns to check himself, and cites three reasons why he should not continue this insertion of personal matter. *Τεθμός* and time, and his desire to execute his commission, prevent him from *speaking out at length*. This is the meaning of τὰ μακρὰ ἐξενέπειν, not that of telling the tale at length, as is shown by the one other case of the verb, in *O.* viii, 20 (ἐξένεπε κρατέων πάλα . . . Αἴγιναν), where ἐξένεπε can only mean 'proclaimed.' The convenience of this meaning for our interpretation is obvious. What now is the admittedly obscure *τεθμός*? Either, I should say, the ordinance which governs the contest of the imagination in which Pindar is engaged, or, more probably, the rule of conduct which guides him in such contests. Like some other hot-tempered men, he doubtless thought himself more restrained than he really was, and considered his attacks on his foes mild, in comparison with what he might have called them. Some reply he feels himself obliged to make; but it shall be brief, and introduced by a sufficient apology.

So, by considering the normal uses of the disputed words, we reach an interpretation, consistent with itself, which effects a coherent transition to the open polemic. We find Pindar introducing a myth of strife, and hinting at its bearing on his own case in a way not too obscure to be caught by a quick-witted auditor, acquainted with the circumstances; then he checks himself, and gives three reasons why he should keep to his business, and not allow his own concerns to intrude; but the impulse is too strong, and the poet, having made proper apology, swings into open attack on his foes, and assertion of faith in his own inspired calling. Finally, having delivered himself, he addresses the lyre: 'Weave forth, sweet lyre, and that too forthwith, a song beloved of Oinone and Cyprus:' καὶ τόδ' αὐτίκα, lest his passion sweep him too far afield, or he provoke Nemesis by undue self-laudation. So the return to the main current of the ode is effected.

Let me now in conclusion set forth the view of the entire ode which my interpretation yields. We find Pindar at the outset proclaiming the power of truly inspired song, which not only momentarily compensates the victor for his toil, but enduringly transmits his fame to future ages. The poet in his inspired office makes offering of his prelude to Zeus, to Nemea, and to the victor, whose past successes he proceeds to recount, ending with one at Thebes, which effects an easy transition to a myth

of Heracles. The spiritual kinship between Theban hero and Theban poet leads to a latent parallel between them, and Pindar drops a hint of this parallel, and its bearing on his present position of rivalry with other poets. Then he recalls his duty to the victor, and strengthens his resolution by citing three reasons why he should desist from this personal strain; but the desire to justify himself is too strong, and he overrides the reasons, after their introduction has served him as a kind of apology, and begins the explicit polemic, following it with a proud profession of faith in himself and his ultimate triumph. Then he resumes his theme straightway, before his passion carry him too far. On this showing we can trace the transitions between the main theme and the digressions in a coherent manner, without doing violence to the recognized Pindaric meanings of the words, and, to my mind, with a distinct gain in our understanding of the poet's purpose.

THE *ORESTEIA* OF AESCHYLUS AS ILLUSTRATED BY GREEK VASE-PAINTING¹

BY HETTY GOLDMAN

IN the discussion of Greek vase-painting the statement that no artist ever sought to produce an illustration of any given literary form of a myth, that should be slavishly faithful in every detail, has acquired the value of an axiom. It is generally conceded that, even when the artist had a definite poetic version in mind, he felt at liberty to let his own imagination play about the subject, introducing or discarding figures of secondary importance merely on the basis of personal preference, or because the composition demanded it for the proper filling of space and the maintenance of that finely adjusted sense of balance which succeeded to the rigid symmetry of early painting and was not wholly lost even when the potter's art ceased to flourish on Attic soil. But just when a vase-painter may be said, in spite of a certain amount of license in treatment, to have been inspired by a definite literary model and when to show a complete independence of it cannot be so easily determined. Walters, for example, says that "The influence of Tragedy on vase-paintings is an indirect one, and entirely confined to the vases of Southern Italy on the one hand, and to the plays of Euripides on the other";² and those who accept this statement must, in consequence, refuse to see any connection between the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus and the numerous vases of later date dealing with the same subject.

Influence of one art upon another, however, is of a subtle nature and manifests itself in a variety of ways. The painter may reflect in his work the actual scenic production of a play, and show reminiscences of the grouping of the actors, the costumes, and the stage-setting. Then again, he may follow the myth in a more general fashion, either reproducing a definite moment in the action, but composing the picture

¹ This article is the thesis presented by the successful candidate for the Charles Eliot Norton Fellowship in Greek Studies for 1910-11.

² Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, Vol. II, p. 162.

according to the traditions of his own art, or trying by a synthetic treatment to suggest rather the play as a whole than any specific scene. After the middle of the fifth century the Greek vase-painter was more given to this latter method. He grouped his composition rather loosely, and we look in vain among his works for any conception of such concentrated dramatic intensity as that of the murder of Aegisthus on pre-Aeschylean vases. Finally the treatment of a myth by a popular dramatist may cause the vase-painter to identify certain general types with the particular story. That some such thing happened in the case of the scene in the *Choephori* in which Electra and Orestes meet at the tomb of their father, I hope to prove. The history of this composition, which has at its centre the figure of a woman seated in an attitude of dejection on the steps of a tomb, offers, in the variety of its application to different subjects, a striking example of the peculiar tenacity with which the vase-painter clung to a type when once created, and of his talent for combining a comparatively limited number of elements in an infinite variety of ways. But more of this when the *Choephori* is under discussion. I wish now to take up the three plays of the *Oresteia* and see whether they stand in any relation with vase-painting subsequent to the production of the trilogy in 458 B.C., and also, in a few cases of exceptional interest, with works of an earlier date.

The *Agamemnon*, however, offers practically no material for this study. The reason must, I think, be sought in the play itself; and while conceding the possibility that vases dealing with the home-coming of Agamemnon and his murder at the hands of his wife may yet be brought to light, I doubt whether at any time the vase-painter found in this a subject suited to his needs. Unlike both the *Choephori* and the *Eumenides*, the *Agamemnon* offers no single stage picture that, either by length of duration or novelty of elements, tends to impress itself upon the imagination with lasting force. In the *Choephori* the meeting of the brother and sister works up gradually to the climax of the recognition, and during the long kommos in which the spirit of the dead is invoked and the living nerved to their work of vengeance, Orestes and Electra, standing at either side of the grave¹ or grouped in some way

¹ T. G. Tucker in his edition of the *Choephori*, p. xxxvii, gives the following stage directions: "The scenic grouping appears to be this. At the foot of the mound, to

on its steps, must have presented to the eyes of the spectator a veritable *tableau*, which the vase-painter could, if he wished, take over and reproduce on the surface of his pottery. In the *Eumenides*, after the two speeches of the Pythian priestess,—the one merely an introductory prayer, the other descriptive of the horrors she has witnessed within the sanctuary,—the interior of the temple is revealed and the group, terrible in its effect, of the distraught and blood-flecked Orestes clinging to the navel stone in the midst of the sleeping furies, is suddenly flashed upon the vision of the spectators.¹ Here, indeed, was a picture that through the medium of the emotions it aroused, etched itself upon the very souls of the spectators. The *Agamemnon* offers no single moment that can compare with either of these for pictorial effect. Splendid as must have been the entrance of Agamemnon from a spectacular point of view, with the prophetess Cassandra mounted upon the chariot and the host of warriors and townspeople following the home-coming lord, it depended for its effect, in all probability, on those very elements that the vase-painter was least able to reproduce,—the shifting play of color and the restless movement of the crowd. With the entrance of Clytemnestra commences a scene of unequalled tragic horror, but of a horror not patent to the senses. Into the tissue of her highly colored address she weaves a dark thread of sinister meaning and creates before our eyes that web of words with which she strangles the suspicions of the king, even as later she ensnares his limbs with the net of her devising, the *ἄπειρον ἀμφίβληστρον*. No kindred art, much less that of the mere decorator of vases, could hope to reproduce this scene.

But when we come to the actual murder, which Clytemnestra describes with perfect directness and terrible clarity, we might expect

either hand, stands the chorus, with the Coryphaeus in the middle. At the summit on one side of the monument stands Orestes, and on the other Electra." Perhaps the less formal arrangement found on the terra cotta relief in Berlin, published in *Monumenti Inediti dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, VI, pl. 57, 2, might be considered equally appropriate and somewhat more suggestive of the mood of exaltation that pervades the scene. Pylades sits on the lowest step of the grave monument. Above are Orestes and Electra with arms entwined. Orestes draws his sword, to dedicate it at his father's tomb.

¹ Scholium to *Eum.* 64: *στραφέντα γὰρ μηχανήματα ἔνδηλα ποιεῖ τὰ κατὰ τὸ μαντεῖον ὡς ἔχει· καὶ γίνεταί ὅψις τραγική, τὸ μὲν ξίφος ἡμαγμένον ἔτι κατέχων Ὀρέστης, αἱ δὲ κύκλω φρουροῦσαι αὐτόν.*

to find the subject treated by the vase-painter. Scenes of conflict were of the kind that both sculptor and painter delighted in depicting. And yet we have only two vases that can, with any fair amount of probability, be connected with the subject, and these are quite unrelated to the drama of Aeschylus. A small picture in the interior of an Attic cylix (II)¹ is imbued with considerable dramatic feeling. It has the essential element of suspense. We see Clytemnestra bent on the destruction of her husband, rushing, axe in hand, towards the bathroom door. But, apart from the fact that the vase has all the characteristics of the severe red-figured style and can hardly be dated later than about 470 B.C., the weapon that she carries in the play of Aeschylus is a sword,² not an axe.³ The other picture (III) shows a woman threatening a fallen warrior with an axe or a kind of flail.⁴ The most, I think, that can be said is that this may represent a very much generalized version of the murder, although the youth of the warrior and the fact that he is helmeted argue against this interpretation. The flying drapery is introduced solely to give weight to the left half of the composition, quite in the manner of the Parthenon metopes or the Dexileos monument, and cannot be supposed to represent the garment in which Agamemnon was entangled. Here then there is nothing to suggest Aeschylean influence, although the vase was painted after the production of the trilogy.

But may there not, after all, be something in the manner of Agamemnon's death that made it, artistically speaking, an undesirable subject for the vase-painter? I think an examination of the only extant monuments on which this is faithfully portrayed will supply the answer.

¹ The Roman numerals refer to the list of monuments on pp. 155 ff.

² Aesch. *Cho.* 1010 f.: μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι
φᾶρος τόδ', ὡς ἔβαψεν Ἀγέσθου ξίφος.

Ag. 1529 f.: ξίφοδ' ἤτη
θανάτῳ τίσας ἄπερ ἦρξεν.

The references are to Sidgwick's *Aeschylus* (Oxford Classical texts). See Warr, on "Clytemnestra's weapon," in *Class. Rev.* XII (1898), 348 ff.

³ Robert, *Bild und Lied*, p. 178, refers the picture to the *Oresteia* of Stesichorus.

⁴ Pottier, on the analogy of a group on the Iliupersis cylix (Louvre G 152), published in Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Die griechische Vasenmalerei*, pl. 34, sees in this picture Andromache slaying a Greek. The type is certainly the same, but it does not seem necessary, on that account, to consider the subjects identical.

A series of Etruscan cinerary urns¹ represent the murder of Agamemnon. They do not, it is true, accord strictly with the Aeschylean version, for here Aegisthus is the actual perpetrator of the deed and Clytemnestra merely comes to his aid armed with a piece of furniture resembling a foot-stool, snatched up under the sudden impulsion of passion and hate. But this divergence, fundamental from a mythological and dramatic point of view, is negligible in a discussion of the composition of the scene. On the best of these as regards artistic merit (IV), Agamemnon, his head and arms completely involved in the encumbering garment, has fled to the household altar, where Aegisthus, sword in hand, seizes him from the left, while Clytemnestra runs up from the other side, ready to dash against the ensnared victim the foot-stool she holds raised above her head. A winged Fury with drawn sword to the left and a servant hiding in terror behind the open door to the right complete the composition. The picture is well conceived, has dramatic unity, and is executed with considerable boldness and life, and yet the total effect is far from pleasing. What in the telling makes a supremely pathetic appeal, the helpless entanglement in a treacherous garment of the mighty hero whose foot, in the words of his faithless wife, had trampled Ilium,² when presented to the eye, fails entirely to arouse a similar emotion. This muffled figure, stationary save for the feeble effort at resistance made with the right arm, if taken by itself, is essentially unbeautiful, and when protruded into the very centre of a scene of violent action breaks that rhythmic movement upon which the inner harmony of the composition depends quite as much as upon the proper balance and disposition of parts. On another urn (V), where the garment is thrown over the head of the seated Agamemnon in a manner to suggest rather a passive than a helplessly entangled figure, the effect is nothing short of ludicrous.³ Even admitting that

¹ Brunn, *Urne Etrusche*, I, pl. LXXIV, LXXXV, 4.

² *Ag.* 906 f.:

μὴ χαμαὶ τειθῆς
τὸν σὸν πόδ', ὦναξ, Ἰλίου πορθήτορα.

³ A detailed discussion of the urns hardly falls within the scope of this article, but I should like to suggest that this picture, in which Clytemnestra alone makes the attack on Agamemnon, is in reality no more dependent on Aeschylus than the others. It is merely an abbreviation of the larger scene, as is evident from the fact that here, too, she carries the foot-stool, a weapon with which she could hardly be supposed to carry out a murder single-handed.

a Greek vase-painter might have treated the subject with more skill than the Etruscan artisans who made the cinerary urns, he could never, I think, have worked it into a telling and harmonious group. And it must be remembered that the superiority of the Greek to the Etruscan consisted, at least in part, in the avoidance of essentially inartistic subjects. The Etruscan attempted everything, the Greek only what was best suited to the medium in which he worked. It may not be going too far in speculation to suggest that, had the scene been actually represented and the net, the *δίκτυον* "Αιδου, introduced, it would have been done somewhat in the manner of Polygnotus, who reduced all such artistically discordant elements to a refined, but vague, and, it must be added, according to modern feeling, rather meaningless symbolism. To us the figure of a woman in a swing would fail adequately to suggest the tragic end of Phaedra by hanging, or two youths seated on a rock the punishment of Theseus and Pirithōus in the lower world.¹

But if the first drama of the trilogy fails to show any point of contact with subsequent vase-painting, it has at least one retrospective reference that throws an interesting light on the persistence of types in ancient art. I think there can be little doubt that, in the passage describing the sacrifice of Iphigenia, Aeschylus is recalling, and not creating, a picture; and if this be so, the central group of a composition, already so well known in the year 458 B.C. that Aeschylus could stimulate the interest of his spectators by a reference to it, reappears on a wall-painting at Pompei. The poet says: ²

φράσεν δ' ἀόζοις πατήρ μετ' εὐχὰν
 δίκαν χαμαίρας ὑπερθε βωμοῦ
 πέπλοισι περιπετῇ παντὶ θυμῷ
 προνωπῇ λαβεῖν ἀέρ-
 δην, στόματός τε καλλιπρώ-
 ρου φυλακῇ κατασχέιν
 φθόγγον ἀραιῶν οἴκοις,
 βία χαλινῶν τ' ἀναῖδω μένει.
 κρόκον βαφὰς δ' ἐς πέδον χέουσα
 ἔβαλλ' ἕκαστον θυτή-
 ρων ἀπ' ὄμματος βέλει φιλοίκτη,

¹ Pausanias 10, 29, 3 and 9.

² *Ag.* 231 ff.

πρέπουσά θ' ὡς ἐν γραφαῖς, προσεννέπειν
 θέλουσ', ἐπεὶ πολλάκις
 πατρὸς κατ' ἀνδρῶνας εὐτραπέζους
 ἔμελψεν, κτλ.

Apart from the distinct reference in *πρέπουσά θ' ὡς ἐν γραφαῖς*, I think there may be a reminiscence of the painting in the words *κρόκον βαφάς*. Aeschylus uses adjectives of color very sparingly, although it must be added, on the other hand, that a saffron robe was the conventional dress of royal maidens.¹

The Pompeian wall-painting (I) in which Iphigenia is raised by two attendants in the manner described by Aeschylus has certain characteristics that mark it as an eclectic composition. There is in the whole a rather formal but by no means obtrusive symmetry, and although the figure of the nymph bringing the stag is clearly introduced in order to balance that of Artemis, this is done in no mechanical fashion. The goddess, who, enthroned upon the clouds, has been watching the preparations for the sacrifice, seems suddenly, upon the more merciful promptings of her heart, to summon her attendant with the stag by an imperious gesture. The nymph arrives with streaming hair and swelling draperies that indicate the rapidity of her flight, while below the praying maiden and hesitating seer seem to hear, although they do not comprehend, the saving presence. Furthermore, the entire absence of background in the picture, when taken in conjunction with the symmetrical arrangement of the central group, argues for an early prototype. These are characteristics of the art of the fifth century; but the attitude of Agamemnon suggests at once the famous picture by Timanthes of Sicily, in which the painter, having expressed in the surrounding characters every gradation of sorrow and horror at the cruel fate of the maiden, veiled from the eyes of the spectators the father's inexpressible grief. The Pompeian artist, therefore, appears to have combined elements from Greek art of the fifth and the early fourth century.² That he has succeeded in fusing them one can hardly maintain. The very introduction of the veiled Agamemnon into this scene rests upon a misunderstanding of the

¹ Cf. Eur. *Phoenissae* 1491 (Dindorf). Antigone says: *στολῖδα κροκόεσσαν ἀνείσα τρυφᾶς*.

² The date of Timanthes is usually given as about 400 B.C.

original painting of Timanthes. What impressed and puzzled the ancient critics in the painting of Timanthes was not the fact that the face was veiled in grief, but that the painter had chosen this means of depicting the climax of grief. Pliny says:¹ "Iphigenia oratorum laudibus celebrata, qua stante ad aras peritura cum maestos pinxisset omnis praecipueque patrum et tristitiae omnem imaginem consumpsisset, patris ipsius vultum velavit quem digne non poterat ostendere." Quintilian alone seems to have understood that the peculiarly moving power of this manner of portraying excessive emotion lay in its appeal to the imagination, for he says:² "Nam cum in Iphigeniae immolatione pinxisset tristem Calchantem, tristiozem Ulixen, addidisset Menelao quem summum poterat ars efficere maerorem, consumptis affectibus non reperiens quo digne modo patris vultum posset exprimere, velavit eius caput, et suo cuique animo dedit aestimandum." Furthermore, logically speaking, the father can abandon himself wholly to grief only when, as in the *Iphigenia at Aulis* of Euripides and the painting of Timanthes, the daughter acquiesces in her fate. But in the Pompeian fresco she pours forth her complaints to heaven and Agamemnon ought to forget his grief, as he does in the play of Aeschylus, in fear of the curse her words may bring upon the house. Moreover, Agamemnon, standing apart at the left of the picture, shows as little artistic as psychological relation to the rest of the group; but omit that figure and the really beautiful inner harmony of the scene is at once apparent. The arms of Iphigenia, raised in supplication, and the upturned eyes of the bearded attendant, seem to unite the upper and the lower half of the picture, much as in the "Transfiguration" of Raphael the pointing hand of the disciple and the convulsive gaze of the epileptic boy link the scene in heaven with that on earth. There is, however, every probability that Agamemnon was depicted in the original composition, only in a manner less inconsistent with its spirit and with artistic unity.

With this picture we come to the end of the scant material offered for our study by the *Agamemnon*. At the opening of the *Choephoroi* we are immediately met by a different problem. The material at hand, though apparently abundant, is of an exceedingly elusive kind. What ought really to be connected with the play of Aeschylus, and what

¹ Pliny, *H. N.* 35, 73.

² Quintilian, 2, 13, 13.

merely represents a similar scene taken from the daily life of the people, from those ceremonies connected with the cult of the dead that we see recorded on the Athenian white lecythi? This is the question we must continually ask ourselves, for the same *motifs* are apparently used to illustrate both. The identification, however, of the particular theme with the general subject in the work of the vase-painter only reflects a deeper identity that lies at the heart of the play. Here in the scene in which the newly united brother and sister join with the chorus in summoning the unappeased spirit of Agamemnon to help them in the work of vengeance that must be executed in his name, Aeschylus gives the supremely poetic and final expression to the primitive Greek idea concerning the dead. That, in all its savage intensity, it actually represents the belief of his own day one can hardly affirm. It does give, however, in a highly wrought form, the quintessence of what lay at the root of popular religion and inspired the customs and beliefs pictured by the painters of funerary vases. The Greek of the fifth century, with a total disregard of that logic which only enters religion when the systematizing theologian begins to blur the traces of its manifold and unreconciled origins, thought of the dead as at once removed to the lower world and residing in his tomb. In the lower world he led a shadowy and helpless existence; in the tomb he was a powerful daemon whose tendency towards maleficent interference in the affairs of the living could be restrained only by constant attention to his needs.¹ Therefore these ceremonies at the tomb, these ornamental fillets and wreaths, and offerings of food and drink. Doubtless the Greek peasant returning from market to his country home at dusk and passing through the Ceramicus and out at the Dipylon gate, many a time believed that he had seen the dead mournfully seated upon the steps of their tombs, in the dejected attitude the vase-painter has made familiar to us.

It is this conception of the dead as a powerful tomb-haunting daemon that Aeschylus has emphasized in the *Choephori*. Here the moving force, the actual hero one might say, is just this spirit of the departed crying out for vengeance from the grave where he resides, working for

¹ Cf. A. Fairbanks, *Athenian White Lekythoi*, p. 354: "The objects which seem to be for the use of the dead, whether placed in the tomb or brought to the grave monument, indicate that the wants of the dead were conceived as practically identical with the wants of the living."

the destruction of his murderers, and not Orestes "prompted to his revenge by heaven and hell" and following unwillingly in the wake of an overmastering fate. On one of a series of Roman sarcophagi,¹ going back probably to some famous Greek painting,² the ghost of Agamemnon, mysteriously shrouded, actually appears at the door of the tomb, and beside it sleeps a Fury holding the axe of Clytemnestra. Here the painter has not illustrated the play; he has given an illuminating interpretation of its spirit. We cannot expect as much of the mere artisans who decorated the vases.

Yet, despite the very general way in which the vase-painter has treated his theme, there are certain points in the characterization of the individuals that he never forgets. The relative importance of Orestes and Pylades is always carefully indicated. The figure of Pylades is placed in a position of less prominence — he plays the part of the companion, the willing but not vitally interested friend, while on the purely sepulchral vases the figures bringing offerings are usually ranged symmetrically at either side of the tomb. Electra too is distinguished from her attendants, either by the signs of mourning, — the short hair and the black robe, — or by the prominence of her position in the centre of the composition, or yet more subtly, by the indication of the ravages of grief and ill-treatment that make Orestes recognize her among the band of mourners and exclaim: ³

καὶ γὰρ Ἥλέκτραν δοκῶ
στείχειν ἀδελφὴν τὴν ἐμὴν πένθει λυγρῇ
πρέπουσαν.

A detailed examination of the vases will, I think, bear out these general statements.

The very opening of the play, the arrival of Orestes and Pylades at the tomb, is, I believe, depicted on a Campanian amphora in the British Museum (VI).⁴ On the ground, in front of a grave monument

¹ The sarcophagi are all discussed in K. Robert, *Die antiken Sarcophagreliefs*, Vol. II, pp. 165-177, pl. LIV-LVI.

² O. Benndorf, *Annali dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, XXXVII (1865), pp. 239 ff.

³ *Cho.* 16-18.

⁴ The catalogue of the British Museum gives no mythological interpretation of the scene.

in the shape of an Ionic column standing on a high plinth, a youth is seated clasping a staff between his hands. Before him, to the left and on slightly higher ground, stands another youth with hanging pilos, a spear in his right hand and a sheathed sword in his left. A chlamys is draped over his left arm. He seems to be addressing the spirit in the tomb. On the Berlin relief¹ Pylades is similarly seated in front of the grave, quite in the spirit of Aeschylus, a witness, but in no sense a participant in the scene. If both youths were merely worshippers at the grave, the careful differentiation between the two could have no meaning, but for Orestes and Pylades it is altogether admirable. After the long journey Pylades, not inspired by the larger emotions that exalt and sustain his friend, sits down wearily upon the ground. If the ancient shepherds were as prone to take their noonday rest in the shade of some convenient monument as are their modern descendants, the vase-painter may very well have taken this figure, which has a certain genre-like charm, from life, and not have borrowed it from his storehouse of inherited types. Orestes, on the other hand, moved by the sight of his father's grave, and conscious of his personal danger, invokes the help of Chthonian Hermes and addresses the dead spirit:²

τύμβον δ' ἐπ' ὄχθῃ τῷδε κηρύσσω πατρὶ
κλύειν, ἀκοῦσαι.

Although made in Campania, the picture probably brings us nearer to the time of Aeschylus than is at first apparent, for it belongs to a class of vases modelled in shape, technique, and treatment on the Attic Nolan amphora.³ Did the vase-painter in this case take over, ready made, the subject as well as the form? One cannot say with certainty, although there is something in the refinement and delicacy of the faces and the purity of outline in the figures that argues strongly in favor of this supposition.

The two vases that Overbeck⁴ wishes to associate with this opening

¹ *Mon. dell' Inst.* VI, pl. 57, 2.

² *Cho.* 4 f.

³ Cf. H. B. Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, I, p. 484: "There are a few peculiar fabrics which we may also attribute to a Campanian origin . . . imitations of Nolan amphorae reproducing both their form and their scheme of decoration."

⁴ J. Overbeck, *Gallerie heroischer Bildwerke*, p. 684, No. 7; p. 685, No. 8.

scene can, I think, be placed here only by a rather strained mythological interpretation. They show two youths at a grave. On one vase they merely stand at either side with an urn between them; on the other they are making offerings of a wreath and a cake. It is true that two male figures are rarely depicted at a tomb in a purely sepulchral connection;¹ on the other hand, the bringing of offerings by Pylades would be entirely out of keeping with the subsidiary role he is made to play in the tragedy; and as there is no attempt to differentiate the two in attitude or to suggest that one participates in the rites more fervently than the other, I think the interpretation as two ephebi at a stele is preferable.

With the withdrawal of Orestes and Pylades, Electra appears on the scene, followed by a chorus of women in wild lamentation. A hint of the gestures that accompanied this parodos, although not reflected in any of the vases connected with the trilogy, may be found in a sepulchral statue² that has come down to us, depicting a woman who wails and tears her hair, and in the figures on certain white Athenian lekythi.³ But according to the words of the poet, the grief of the chorus took on an even more violent and varied form than art could depict:⁴

ἰαλτὸς ἐκ δόμων ἔβαν
 χοὰς προπομπὸς δ' ἐν χεὶρὶ σὺν κτύπῳ.
 πρέπει παρὴς φοινίοις ἀμυγμοῖς
 ὄνυχος ἄλοκι νεοτόμῳ,
 δι' αἰῶνος δ' ἰνγμοῖσι βύσκεται κέαρ.
 λινοφθόροι δ' ὑφασμάτων
 λακίδες ἐφλαδὸν ὑπ' ἄλγεσιν,
 πρόστερνοι στολμοὶ
 πέπλων ἀγέλαστοις
 ξυμφοραῖς πεπληγμένων.

¹ A. Fairbanks, *Athenian White Lekythoi*, p. 351: "In accordance with Greek practice the offerings are ordinarily brought by women; it is very rare to find two men at the tomb, though one of the figures is usually a man who seems merely to watch what is going on." Murray, *White Athenian Vases in the British Museum*, pl. V, however, shows two men in this position.

² *Mon. dell' Inst.* I, pl. 44.

³ Fairbanks gives a list of these on p. 352 of his *Athenian White Lekythoi*.

⁴ *Cho.* 22 ff.

A single vase (VII), on which the picture is divided between the two sides, shows the moment just before the meeting of brother and sister. A woman with her chiton drawn up over head, is engaged in tying a taenia about a stele (inscribed ΑΓΑΜΕ) which stands on a three-stepped base. Opposite her another female figure holds a basket of taeniae. On the reverse two youths are depicted, both with chlamys and hanging petasos, and carrying long staves. The one seems to hold back, while the other, Orestes, advances. This reluctance on the part of Pylades to participate in the coming scene of recognition is simply but effectively indicated, and gives a touch of individuality to a composition that otherwise approximates very closely to the general type of vases with sepulchral themes. The veiled woman is of course Electra¹ and the other probably an attendant, although the name of Chrysothemis has been suggested for her.

When we come to the actual meeting, and the scene that rises to a climax in the joyful greeting of brother and sister and the dedication of Orestes to the deed of murder and revenge, we find that art had anticipated the work of Aeschylus, and formulated it in a group remarkable for the profound expression of feeling. The conception can hardly have been original with the maker of the small and badly mutilated relief from Melos (VIII), but must represent either the culmination of a type that had been long developing, or the creation of some single great artist. The relief was probably made before the year 460 B.C.; but even if it could be dated later, the place of its manufacture and the fact that it diverges in certain important details from the Aeschylean version, prohibit our establishing any connection between the two. Electra (inscribed ΑΛΕΚΤΡ) is shown, seated in deep dejection on the step in front of a grave stele (inscribed ΑΜΕΕ). Her legs are crossed, and she leans her head, which is veiled, on her left hand. A pitcher for pouring libations is at her feet. Behind her stands an old woman likewise veiled, evidently the nurse. From the opposite side three men approach. The foremost has one foot raised on the steps of the monument, and, leaning over, is about to touch Electra's arm, while the second, at some distance, holds his hand thoughtfully to his chin. The

¹ Electra is similarly veiled on the earliest extant monument connected with this scene, the terra cotta from Melos, and on a series of vases from Southern Italy.

third with the baggage on his back, evidently a servant, shows no signs of participating in the scene. The horse in the foreground indicates that they are travellers. In spite of archaic severity and poor preservation, the emaciated figure of Electra, with its inwardness of grief, its absorption in thoughts of consuming melancholy, breathes a certain spirit of ruined nobility that we look for in vain on the works of the later vase-painters. They are not keyed emotionally to so high a pitch, nor are they so direct and concentrated in expression. Although Robert¹ gives the name of Talthybius to the man leaning over and touching Electra on the arm, I think, purely as a matter of feeling, that the tenderness of the gesture belongs rather to the brother than to the old servant, and the argument that the second youth, because he is obviously the most distinguished of the three, must therefore be Orestes, as Robert maintains, does not seem cogent. I prefer to follow those² who see in the three men Orestes, Pylades, and a servant. With this interpretation the beauty and consistency of the gamut of emotions becomes at once apparent, ranging as it does from the stolidity of the servant to the sympathetic aloofness of Pylades, and rising to a climax in the joyful eagerness of Orestes, thus brought into immediate contrast with the intense gloom of the unconscious Electra. We have here a conception of the recognition scene based, in all probability, as Robert³ has shown, on the *Oresteia* of Stesichorus and antedating, though not by many years, the drama of Aeschylus.

What then, we may ask, did the Aeschylean trilogy do, either to preserve and popularize what was already in existence, or to modify it and bring it into stricter accord with the version of the play? Strange to say, we must answer: At the time of its production nothing at all. A single vase (IX) of the second half of the fifth century preserves the tradition of the relief, but in a form that has lost both in individuality and intensity, and approximates rather to the scheme of the funeral lecythi. If, as Robert holds, this type of mourning woman was originally created to illustrate the myth of Orestes and Electra, then it appears early to have been divorced from this subject and applied to a

¹ K. Robert, *Bild und Lied*, p. 167.

² A. Conze, *Annali dell' Inst.*, 1861, pp. 340-348; H. Brunn, "Troische Miscellen," *Sitzungsber. d. k. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. zu München*, 1887, p. 269.

³ K. Robert, *op. cit.*, chap. V.



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LECYTHUS, BRITISH MUSEUM D 33

variety of themes.¹ Electra becomes the prototype of all sorrowing women. She appears as the defunct, mournfully seated on the steps of her tomb, or as the faithful servant placed above her mistress's grave.² Penelope bidding farewell to Telemachos,³ and the mother parting from her warrior son,⁴ are no other than the original Electra. But another view is possible. The terra-cotta relief may represent the application to a particular myth of a type that at its inception had only a general funerary significance.⁵ Robert, however, has shown that the group of Thanatos and Hypnos carrying a dead body was originally created to illustrate the Sarpedon myth, and later received a more general application to sepulchral scenes;⁶ and as there is no actual proof of a contrary process having taken place in the case of the Electra type, the weight of evidence seems to be on the side of Robert's theory.

The single vase from the fifth century that illustrates the legend of Orestes and Electra in a manner recalling the terra-cotta relief is a white Athenian lecythus in the British Museum (IX), here published for the first time (PLATE I).⁷ It is in such a poor state of preservation that we must resort to the catalogue description for the details of color and costume. The drawing, as far as can be judged, is rather angular and lacking in freedom. Electra (the name was originally inscribed) sits on the upper step of a stele with one foot drawn up on the lower step, resting her left arm and right elbow on her raised knee, and supporting her chin on her right hand. She wears a black sleeveless chiton and a red himation. Orestes (name also originally inscribed) stands before her to the left, and extends his right hand as if in conversation. He

¹ Robert, *Bild und Lied*, p. 169, n. 18: "Wenn ein Zusammenhang zwischen den attischen Grab-Lekythen wirklich vorhanden ist, so würde ich mich keinen Augenblick scheuen, daraus die Konsequenz zu ziehen, dass der ursprünglich für Orestes and Elektra geschaffene Typus auf Szenen des täglichen Lebens übertragen sei."

² A. Furtwängler, *Collection Sabouroff*, pl. XV-XVII.

³ *Mon. dell' Inst.* IX, pl. 42.

⁴ *Museo Gregoriano*, II, pl. 19 (1st ed.); II, pl. 24 (2d ed.).

⁵ This is the view expressed by Furtwängler, *Coll. Sabouroff*, Vol. I, text to pl. XV-XVII.

⁶ K. Robert, *Thanatos*, pp. 4 ff.

⁷ For permission to publish this vase and for the photograph from which the plate was made I have to thank Mr. H. B. Walters.

wears a short chiton, chlamys, and petasos hanging at the back of his neck. To the right is an attendant carrying a large box or basket in her right arm and lifting the drapery from her shoulder with the left hand. Possibly it is due to the influence of the *Choephoroi* of Aeschylus that the old nurse is now consistently eliminated from the scene, and the youthful attendant substituted. This figure, with the rather meaningless gesture, becomes popular on South Italian vases, and seems to have been developed from that of a woman lifting a corner of her veil. Both the general resemblance in type and the essential difference in spirit between this vase and the relief are at once apparent. On the vase the climax is over, the recognition has taken place, and Orestes and Electra are found in conversation with one another. On the relief, on the other hand, we are, as it were, suspended between two moments representing the emotional extremes of joy and despair. Electra is still plunged in gloom, but let her feel that touch upon her arm and she will be raised to the heights of unbounded joy that in the play call forth the restraining words of Orestes :¹

ἐνδον γενοῦ, χαρᾷ δὲ μὴ ῥ' κπλαγγῆς φρένας.

One other vase (X) of the last quarter of the fifth century,² on which the figures are drawn in a large and noble style reminiscent of Phidian art, probably shows the same scene, but the scheme of the composition differs from that of the Melian relief. Electra, seated sideways, towards the right, on the plinth of a grave stele, looks up at Orestes who stands before her leaning on a staff. Her hair is shorn, and she wears no veil. Evidently they are conversing, for her right hand is extended in an expressive gesture. On the left side of the stele a servant holds a basket of wreaths and taeniae. Here even the attitude of dejection that indicated in a certain measure the mood of Electra has been abandoned. She expresses neither the joy of the moment nor the sorrow of her past life, and the scene, like the gatherings of sacred characters in Renaissance art, has been generalized to the extent of representing a mere "Conversazione."

With the end of the fifth century and the decline of the potter's art in Attica, we are forced to return to Italy in our search for further

¹ *Cho.* 233.

² A. Fairbanks, *White Athenian Lekythoi*, p. 138, dates it about 425 B.C.

material, and an amphora (XI) in Naples seems to mark the transition from the old to the new style. Although it has the characteristics of Lucanian vase-painting,¹ especially in the large type of head and somewhat coarse physiognomies, the combination of dignity with grace in the attitude of the figures, and the simple lines of the drapery, suggest, if not direct influence, at least reminiscences of Phidian art.² The composition speaks for itself without the inscriptions, which are open to suspicion.³ Electra sits towards the left, on the base of a stele inscribed with Agamemnon's name and surmounted by a helmet. The left leg is slightly raised, and she clasps the knee in an attitude of mild and dreamy dejection. Above her stands an attendant, exactly in the pose of the one on the Athenian lecythus IX. Orestes and Pylades approach from the right, the former somewhat in advance and extending his right hand as if addressing Electra, although there is nothing to indicate that she gives heed or is even aware of his presence. A youth, seated above at the extreme right, undoubtedly introduced merely to fill an unpleasing void, may be interpreted as a follower of Orestes. It is at once apparent that the treatment of the theme has again gained in individuality. Even omitting the inscriptions (the spurious addition of which is proof of the strong suggestion contained in the picture), we are in no danger of seeing in it merely a grave ceremony taken from the daily life of the people. With the introduction of Pylades the group now contains only those figures that the scene of the *Choephoroi* requires, and I think we are at last justified in perceiving a distinct connection, though not necessarily through the medium of the stage, between the drama and vase-painting.

A series of Lucanian vases, so closely connected in subject and style as undoubtedly to be the product of one factory, if not the work of a single artist, shows a somewhat different treatment of the theme, but one

¹ Characteristic of Lucanian ware are the rosette, the arms hung up in the field to fill space, and the use (on the reverse of this vase, published in Inghirami, *Vasi Fittili*, II, pl. 138) of small round stones to indicate the ground line.

² A. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, p. 108, refers to a class of vases in Southern Italy that "shows clearly how strong was the influx of Athenian art into Magna Graecia in the Phidian period, and how powerful was the stimulus it gave to fresh production."

³ H. Heydemann, *Vasensammlungen zu Neapel*, No. 1755, considers the inscription "Agamemnon" and possibly "Electra" genuine.

which, I think, can only be adequately explained by reference to Aeschylean conceptions. I shall discuss them in the following order :

Lucanian calpis, Naples 2858 (XII).

Lucanian calpis, Munich 814 (XIII).

Lucanian amphora, published by Inghirami, pl. 153 (XIV).

Lucanian amphora, Louvre 544 (XV), here published for the first time (PLATE II).¹

The composition of XII is the most extended and contains all the elements that appear, with only slight modifications, on the other vases. In the centre Electra, veiled, her head supported by her right hand, sits on the steps of a funeral monument in the form of an Ionic column. A taenia tied about the shaft, a variety of vases, a black taenia and a pomegranate lying on the three-stepped base sufficiently indicate the nature of the ceremonies that have been performed. To the left of the grave stands Orestes with a spear in his left hand and a phiale extended in the other, while Hermes occupies the corresponding position to the right. He is placed upon the base of the tomb, and leaning on his kerykeion, crowns the column with a wreath. Pylades is seated at the left, under the handle of the vase ; he turns his head to look towards the centre. He holds a spear in one hand and a large pilos in the other. A bearded man with a staff stands directly behind Hermes, and a similar figure, wearing a close fitting cap and likewise carrying a staff, is seated, facing the centre, on a sack tied together at one end. He occupies the space under the right handle. The figure of a nude youth at the left, and that of a servant holding an alabastron at the right, complete the composition. All the figures, with the exception of Orestes and Electra who are drawn in three quarter view, look towards the centre. For a vase of so late a date the grouping is strangely symmetrical ; nor is the picture animated by any unifying idea that would tend to counteract the unpleasing impression of its formal arrangement. Electra, in spite of the advent of her brother, and although placed at an angle that, of necessity, makes her aware of his presence, maintains the dejected attitude appropriate to the opening of the play. Orestes, on the other

¹ Permission to publish this vase and the photograph from which the plate was made were obtained through the kindness of M. Edmond Pottier.



ORESTES, ELECTRA, AND HERMES AT THE TOMB OF AGAMEMNON
LUCANIAN AMPHORA, LOUVRE 544



hand, is pouring a libation, a ceremony he could not have performed until after the recognition had taken place.¹ If, as has been suggested, an effigy or emblem of Hermes was actually placed at the tumulus when the play was performed,² his presence here on the vase is doubly accounted for, although the fact that he is invoked by both Orestes and Electra would seem sufficient explanation:³

Orestes. Ἑρμῇ χθόνιε, πατρῷ ἐποπτεύων κράτη,
σωτῆρ γενοῦ μοι ξύμμαχος τ' αἰτουμένω.

Electra. κῆρυξ μέγιστε τῶν ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω,
Ἑρμῇ χθόνιε, κηρύξας ἐμοί,
τοὺς γῆς ἔνερθε δαίμονας κλύειν ἐμὰς
εὐχάς . . .

The introduction of a nude youth into a scene in which he is obviously out of place, merely in order to provide a counterpart to the female servant at the extreme right, does not show the inventive power of the artist in a favorable light. There is, however, an imaginative touch in the figure of the retainer, whose foreign appearance, in combination with the baggage upon which he is seated, at once suggests the further development of the plot: the disguise, by means of which Orestes and Pylades penetrate into the interior of the palace.⁴ In the bearded man immediately behind Hermes we must probably see the Paedagogus and admit into an Aeschylean scene a character derived in all probability, either directly or indirectly, from the *Electra* of Sophocles. No other interpretation suggests itself, and yet it is difficult to explain his presence on any other ground than the deliberate choice of the vase-painter; for by a slight shifting of the remaining figures the composition could easily have been extended to its present dimensions, and the decorative requirements equally well fulfilled. He does not reappear on any of the vases that represent abbreviations of this picture.

On XIII the composition is reduced to seven figures. Pylades and the Paedagogus are omitted, the retainer with the baggage transferred

¹ The pouring of a libation by Orestes is not alluded to in the text of the play. It might, however, have taken place during the kommos without special mention.

² T. G. Tucker, *The Choephoroi of Aeschylus*, p. xxxii: "The opening scene is the tumulus of Agamemnon with an effigy or emblem of Hermes."

³ *Cho.* 1 f. and 124 ff.

⁴ Cf. Huddilston, *Greek Tragedy in the Light of Vase-paintings*, p. 50.

to the left, and a seated female attendant holding a box takes his place on the right. The attitude of Hermes is the same, but he now stands on the ground instead of on the step of the monument, and Orestes holds a pitcher. There are unessential modifications in the poses of the end figures.

Only four of the characters are present on XIV. To the right of Electra stands Hermes, identical with the one on vase XII, except that the right hand holds no wreath. The servant at the extreme right of XII and XIII has been moved to a position directly behind Hermes, and now lifts her drapery with the left, and an alabastron with the right hand. Orestes, with a cantharus in his hand, occupies the left field.

The picture on XV (PLATE II), which consists of only three figures, — Electra seated on a high five-stepped monument, surmounted by a Doric column supporting a crater, with Orestes to the left and Hermes to the right, — appears to be an excerpt from the larger composition of XIII, from which it differs only in unessential details. Orestes holds a cylix, and the position of Electra is slightly shifted towards the left. On all the vases there are minor variations, which I have not noted, in the shape of the monument and the nature and number of the offerings and vases placed upon the steps.

It would be idle to seek for a basic composition among a series of pictures in which the elements are rather aligned than composed, and the meaningless figures of serving men and women represented in preference to characters of such primary importance in every version of the myth as Pylades, who is omitted on all but the most comprehensive treatment of the story (XII). Electra is everywhere the same figure of gentle and resigned melancholy, pensively leaning her head upon her hand. She is still the direct descendant of the old Electra of the Melian relief, but one feels that she has survived rather as a type than as an individual; for all the stern and tragic intensity has vanished with the emaciated form. Here the limbs are rounded, the body gracefully bent under the weight of affliction. She appears rather a burdened than a bitter and rebellious spirit. This emotional attenuation is the price she has had to pay for her long apprenticeship as the universal type of mourning, during which she seems to have been recreated in the milder spirit of the ideas which, towards the middle of the fifth and in the fourth century, centred around the conception of the dead.

That the vase-painters of Southern Italy were capable of more dramatic feeling, the pictures connected with the *Eumenides* will show.

The servant seated on the baggage offers the link that binds the picture most closely to the *Choephoroi*, for by his presence emphasis is laid on a feature that, so far as we know, is purely Aeschylean, and one upon which hinges the whole development of the plot: the disguise of Orestes and Pylades as Daulian merchants.¹

A vase (XVI) that shows the moment before the recognition ought perhaps to have been commented upon earlier, but I have relegated it to this position because the type of the Electra connects it very closely with the series we have just been discussing. She is seated in the familiar attitude on the steps of an aedicular, holding a large jar in her lap. Orestes, with a gesture indicative of surprise and pleasure, approaches from the right, while Pylades, with a nice sense of differentiation is made to stand quietly on the other side of the monument and look back upon the scene.²

By the help of this picture we may interpret another (XVII), which, at the first glance, seems rather to reflect the version of Sophocles than that of Aeschylus. Compared with the somewhat dull adherence to a type, one might almost say to a formula, in some of the vases reflecting the *Choephoroi*, this one is vivified by an imaginative strain of unusual freshness and charm. The artist has here succeeded in giving a poetic suggestion of the momentary emotion without introducing the note of exaggeration that mars so many of the dramatic vase-paintings.³ The grave monument, bound with a black taenia, occupies the extreme left of the picture, and Electra, a noble, rather matronly figure in a black chiton, her hair cut short, stands beside it, looking towards Orestes, as if his arrival had interrupted her ministrations at the grave. She holds a black taenia in the right hand, and a large hydria ornamented with a taenia and branches in her left arm. Orestes leans forward upon his spear, and looks smilingly into his sister's eyes, as if trying to draw from her a joyful recognition of his identity. It is the moment when Electra, who has previously accepted too confidently the uncertain evidence of

¹ *Cho.* 674: OP. ξένος μὲν εἰμι Δαυλιεὺς ἐκ Φωκέων.

² This attitude, although sufficiently motivated here, becomes a positive mannerism on late South Italian vases.

³ I refer particularly to the vases based on Euripidean and post-Euripidean plays.

the footsteps and lock of hair, now hesitates before the assurance brought her by his words :¹

αὐτὸν μὲν οὖν ὁρῶσα δυσμαθείς ἐμέ·
 κουρὰν δ' ἰδοῦσα τήνδε κηδείου τριχὸς
 ἰχνοσκοποῦσά τ' ἐν στίβοισι τοῖς ἐμοῖς
 ἀνεπτερώθης κἀδόκεις ὁρᾶν ἐμέ.

But, were it not for the evidence of the vase previously discussed, on which she holds in her lap a jar of similar proportions, it might be argued that the size of the hydria is inconsistent with the offices that Electra actually performs at the grave,² and suggests rather the moment in the *Electra* of Sophocles when Orestes, after having handed his sister the bronze urn containing, supposedly, his own ashes, demands it back with the words :³

μέθες τόδ' ἄγγος νῦν, ὅπως τὸ πᾶν μάθῃς.

In reality, however, the picture shows more serious inconsistencies with the version of Sophocles than with that of Aeschylus. In the play of Sophocles the meeting of brother and sister does not take place at a tomb, and on the only certain illustration of his *Electra* that we possess⁴ the vase-painter has avoided any indication of locality. He has further been at pains to emphasize the fact that the urn which Orestes holds out to Electra is of bronze, by giving the rim a shape that is found only in metal vases. I think, therefore, that the inspiration of our vase may be sought far more justly in the lines I have quoted from the *Choephori*.

Must we still recognize Orestes and Electra on a bell-crater in the British Museum (XVIII)? Perhaps so, although we have travelled very far away from the tragic conception of Aeschylus. Electra, in a some-

¹ *Cho.* 225 ff.

² In the play she is evidently thought of as pouring a libation from a small, light vessel, for she inquires of the chorus whether she is to throw it away (*Cho.* 96 ff.):

ἢ σὺγ' ἀτίμως, ὥσπερ οὖν ἀπώλετο
 πατήρ, τὰδ' ἐκχέασα, γάποτον χύσιν,
 στείχω, καθάρμαθ' ὥς τις ἐκπέμψας, πάλιν
 δικοῦσα τεῦχος ἀστρόφοισιν ὅμασιν;

³ Sophocles, *El.* 1205.

⁴ Crater, published J. Overbeck, *Gall. Her. Bild.*, p. 693, No. 19, pl. XXIX, 6; Inghirami, *Vasi Fittili*, II, pl. CXLIII.

what modified form of the now familiar attitude of mourning, sits upon a very large striped cushion; but her appearance, no doubt under the influence of the love scenes so prevalent on South Italian vases, has indeed undergone a change "into something rich and strange." Her hair is curled, she wears a radiated ampyx, necklace, pendant, and bracelets. Her elbow no longer rests upon her knee, but the hand is brought up to the veil with a gesture which, in combination with her adornment, gives her more the appearance of a bride than of an afflicted princess reduced to the condition of a slave. Orestes, with spear in one hand and sheathed sword in the other, stands at the left, and a servant or, perhaps, — in view of the richness of her costume and the jewelry she wears — Chrysothemis at the right, with mirror and pyxis. The vase has been introduced into the discussion more for the sake of tracing the continuity of type than because it stands in any inner relation to the *Choëphori*.¹

¹ I have not included the discussion of an interesting unpublished Campanian amphora (*Boston Museum of Fine Arts Report*, 1899, p. 84, No. 99-540) in the main part of this article, because it cannot be connected with the Aeschylean version. In fact it does not coincide with the version of any of the three great tragedians. Electra, clad in a black chiton and scanty himation, her hair cut short, appears in front of a house (indicated by a platform and a column) with a hydria in one hand and a taenia in the other. Were it not for the taenia, one would at once connect the picture with the play of Euripides, in which Electra, as the wife of a peasant, goes to fetch water, but this badge of mourning seems to indicate that she is bound for the tomb of Agamemnon. The gesture of her right hand, furthermore, indicates that she has caught sight of Orestes and Pylades, who are engaged in conversation at the left of the picture and are apparently unaware of her presence. But this is not the case in any of the extant dramatic versions. Electra is always surprised by her brother, and the vase-painters never take liberties with this essential feature of the story. One must therefore conclude that this vase illustrates an otherwise unknown version of the Orestes myth.

I have also omitted two vases which Overbeck connects with the meeting of Orestes and Electra at the tomb of their father, because I do not feel convinced that they represent more than an ordinary funerary scene. On the first (Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 686, No. 11; Millin-Reinach, *Peintures de Vases*, II, pl. 51; Inghirami, *Vasi Fittili*, II, pl. 156; Raoul-Rochette, *Monumens inédits d'antiquité figurée*, p. 159, n. 4) a maiden with a taenia and a platter of offerings stands at one side of a stele, and opposite her a youth, wearing a chlamys and hanging petasos, holds a spear in one hand and a wreath, with which he appears to be crowning the monument, in the other. Two vases stand on the base of the stele and another hangs in the back-

The remaining scenes of the play, into which so much of bloodshed and moving dramatic contrast is compressed, find no reflection in the vase-painter's art. The murder of Aegisthus had received its lasting expression in a composition formulated before the days of the great tragedians, and, in all probability, under the influence of the *Oresteia* of Stesichorus. Its widespread popularity is attested by the fact that it has survived in whole or in part on no less than seven¹ vases of the early fifth century. The archetype of all these pictures Robert reconstructs in the following manner:² "Orestes, fully armed, plunges his sword into the breast of Aegisthus. Clytemnestra rushes to the assistance of her husband brandishing an axe; a warning cry of the frightened Electra . . . calls the attention of her brother to the danger that threatens him from the rear and he glances backward, but the aged Talthybius has already hurried to his rescue and disarmed Clytemnestra." A group, combining in more masterly fashion the elements both of unity and contrast, can hardly be imagined. Electra and Talthybius, at either end of the composition, are united by the concentration of their terrified interest upon the same point, the axe of Clytemnestra; while in the centre the eyes of the mother, frustrated in her

ground. On the second vase (Overbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 687, No. 12; Inghirami, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 142; D'Hancarville, *Antiquités étrusques, grecques et romaines*, IV, pl. 52), the maiden alone is busy at the tomb placing offerings on the steps from a phiale that she holds in her hand, while the youth, who has a spear in his right hand and a cloak draped over the left arm, gazes vacantly into space. The absence of any accessory figures, such as usually appear on the South Italian vases connected with the recognition scene, and the typical and unemotional manner in which the offices at the tomb are performed warrant us in rejecting a mythological interpretation for these pictures.

¹ K. Robert, *Bild und Lied*, p. 149, gives six examples, to which the fragmentary amphora now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Robinson, *Cat. No. 419*) must be added. In the catalogue description of the vase, the scene is interpreted as the death of Orpheus contaminated by the "Aegisthus" type, because the seated figure wears a long chiton and holds a lyre in one hand. But the picture otherwise corresponds to the most complete representation of the murder of Aegisthus by Orestes — Talthybius, Clytemnestra, and Electra are all present — and Orpheus, in legend and art, meets his death at the hands of women and not of a man. The lyre does not necessarily characterize a Greek as a professional poet or minstrel, and if we have here an actual case of contamination it ought surely to be stated in the opposite way, as the murder of Aegisthus contaminated by the Orpheus type.

² K. Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

murderous attempt, meet those of the son, who plunges his sword into the heart of her paramour, in a glance of ferocious hatred. The dramatic and emotional climax is complete. As far as we know, this picture continued to dominate the popular imagination, even after a succession of dramatic poets had presented a variety of versions. So far as I am aware, it appears only once on vase-paintings later than the production of the *Oresteia*. A late vase from Bari (XIX) represents it in the following manner. Orestes seizes Aegisthus, who is seated on a throne, by the hair and stabs him in the breast. Behind Orestes, Clytemnestra appears with the double axe. To the right, behind Aegisthus, Pylades departs with drawn sword, and a woman, resembling Clytemnestra in dress and attitude, rushes up with a foot-stool lifted in her hand. This, according to Furtwängler,¹ must be Electra, who in her passion has come to take a hand; and he further suggests that her active participation in the scene shows the influence of tragedy upon the conception of her character. But the influence at work must, of course, be that of Sophocles and Euripides, not Aeschylus, in whose play she has no share either in the planning or the execution of the murder, and appears upon the stage for the first and last time in the scene at the grave.

Here the motif of Clytemnestra attempting the life of her son is preserved from the vases created under the influence of older poetry; and this older type, so compact and forceful in expression, was never, so far as we can judge, replaced by any inspired by the writings of the dramatic poets.² But Aeschylus himself, at one moment in the *Choephoroi*, seems to stand in a peculiar relation to this older version. Clytemnestra, when she hears of the murder of Aegisthus, calls out: ³

δοίη τις ἀνδροκμήτα πέλεκυν ὡς τάχος·
εἰδῶμεν εἰ νικῶμεν ἢ νικώμεθα.

A servant departs, and before he can reënter with the weapon Orestes appears, Clytemnestra makes the maternal appeal, shows him the breast

¹ *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1888, p. 1451.

² Even on the Roman sarcophagi (K. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, Vol. II, pl. LIV-LVI) which undoubtedly illustrate the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus, Aegisthus is killed seated ἐν θρόνῳ σὺν πατρί, as in the older pictures. These sarcophagi belong to the time of Hadrian and so show the survival of the motif in the second century A.D.

³ *Cho.* 889 f.

at which he was nurtured, and throws herself upon his mercy. Why, we must ask ourselves, does Aeschylus introduce this demand for a weapon which is never brought and plays no part in the final scene? Robert¹ in commenting upon the passage says: "Aeschylus eliminated the dreadful motif of the mother's raising her axe against her own son, whom she may or may not have recognized; but this tradition was so strong, and had impressed itself so deeply upon the imagination of the people, that he felt bound at least to refer to it with the words 'δοίη τις ἀνδροκμήτα πέλεκυν ὡς τάχος.' Here we see the independently creative artist in conflict with poetic legendary tradition." But I venture to think that the explanation here given is too exclusively archaeological. If Aeschylus, a resourceful and daring playwright, really felt the need, at the very height of the tragedy, of throwing a meagre sop to a possible conservative element by thus referring to older tradition, what, one must ask, would have been the actual psychological effect upon the spectators? Would they have been more impressed by the apparent concession to tradition, or by the contrast between what is implied in the call for arms and what really takes place when mother and son are brought face to face? Aeschylus, in thus contrasting the old savage motif with the more humane one, meant, I believe, to throw the emphasis on the latter, and by causing a sudden revulsion of feeling in his audience, to make the emotional effect of the scene all the more poignant. At the words *δοίη τις ἀνδροκμήτα πέλεκυν ὡς τάχος* a picture of the attack of mother upon son, much as we see it in the old vase-paintings, involuntarily flashes into the mind of the listeners. They are prepared for a scene of horror, in which the unnatural ferocity of Clytemnestra enlists all the sympathies on the side of Orestes. The weapon, however, is never brought. Orestes appears, and Clytemnestra, abandoning all thought of self-defence, appeals to him in the sacred name of motherhood. For the moment the sympathies of the audience flow back to the mother, who pleads, not alone to preserve her life, but also to justify it in the eyes of her son. Two primal instincts are aroused in Clytemnestra: to save herself from death and from the moral condemnation of her son. Aeschylus first shows her to us as the woman of savage but magnificent courage, brought to bay by an enemy whose identity she has not yet recognized. Her spirit is that of

¹ K. Robert, *Bild und Lied*, p. 161.

Macbeth, who never so nearly attains to heroic stature, as when, abandoned and aware of "the equivocation of the fiend that lies like truth," he exclaims :

"Arm, arm and out : —
If this which he avouches does appear,
There is nor flying hence, nor tarrying here.
I'gin to be a' weary of the sun,
And wish the estate o' the world were now undone. —
Ring the alarum-bell. Blow wind ! Come wrack !
At least we'll die with harness on our back."

Clytemnestra too wishes to die with "harness on her back."

Aeschylus, however, who in the first play of the trilogy emphasizes the maternal passion of Clytemnestra, will not let her pass from the stage without a resurgence of this emotion. But Orestes has both the hardness and the delicate scruples peculiar to youth and innocence, and while, on the one hand, he cannot understand or sympathize with the temptations that solitude and a sense of wrong had brought to her, when she pleads :¹

ἀλλ' εἴφ' ὁμοίως καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ σοῦ μάτας·
ἀλγος γυναιξὶν ἀνδρὸς εἶργεσθαι, τέκνον·

he will not, on the other hand, name the sin she has committed. When he accuses her of having sold him and she demands that he state the price she received in return he says :²

αἰσχύνομαί σοι τοῦτ' ὀνειδίσαι σαφῶς.

Instinctive pity, not understanding, prompts him momentarily to spare her life, but when he finally fulfills the command laid upon him by Apollo he seems in spiritual accord with it and so responsible for his deed.

Although there are no representations of Clytemnestra's appeal to Orestes on extant vases, the design on an Etruscan mirror (XX) makes it extremely probable that the motif was not invented by Aeschylus, but was taken over by him from some poem sufficiently well known in the early part of the fifth century to have influenced popular art. The

¹ Cho. 918 and 920.

² Cho. 917.

mirror evidently repeats the design on the interior of an Attic cylix¹ that, on stylistic grounds, can hardly be dated later than 470 B.C. The picture accords perfectly with the version of Aeschylus, and the names of Orestes (Urusthe) and Clytemnestra (Clutumsta) are inscribed. It is possible, but extremely improbable, that the engraver of so archaic a mirror was sufficiently well acquainted with the play of Aeschylus to have adapted to this subject a design originally depicting another myth.

It is also to the *Choephoroi* that we must look, I think, for the suggestion of a vase-picture (XXI) illustrating no actual scene, but the event that takes place prior to Orestes's return and inspires the action of the play, — his visit to Delphi. In the centre Apollo, with lyre in one hand and a laurel branch in the other, sits upon the omphalus, which is decked with taeniae. Directly in front of him to the left, with one foot raised, stands Orestes, his gaze fixed in rapt and solemn attention upon the prophetic god. Over the left shoulder he carries a spear and in his right hand he holds a sword, as if consecrating it to the deed of vengeance. Behind Apollo appear Pylades, as always in the vase-paintings inspired by Aeschylean conceptions a mere spectator, and the Pythia seated upon the tripod and holding a taenia. A female figure, standing close to Orestes, cannot be named with any certainty. The gesture of her left hand indicates that she is in some way actively connected with the scene, but perhaps merely as an officiating priestess.²

¹ Cf. H. B. Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, II, p. 307: "Apparently the red-figured vases which were imported into Etruria in such large numbers in the fifth century served as prototypes, not for their paintings, but for the engraved mirrors. . . . The interior designs of the kylikes, perfected by Epiktetos, Euphronios, and their contemporaries, served as obvious models for disposing a design in a circular space; and they had in the subjects a mythological repertory ready to hand."

Compare the attitude of Orestes with that of Achilles on the interior of the Troilus cylix, published by P. Hartwig, *Die griechischen Meisterschalen des strengen roth-figurigen Stils*, pl. LVIII, LIN, 1.

² I have given the interpretation suggested by Bötticher, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1860, pp. 50 ff., which seems to me most in harmony with the spirit of the composition, but scholars have expressed widely divergent opinions. Heydemann (*Vasensammlungen zu Neapel*, No. 1984) and Jahn (*Vasenbilder*, p. 9) see in it Orestes consecrating his sword at Delphi on his return from Tauris; Rochette (*Mon. Inéd.*, p. 187) and Overbeck (*Her. Bildw.*, p. 715) see in the scene the purification of Orestes in the presence of Electra after the murder of Clytemnestra. The attitude of Orestes and the calm expression of his face hardly seem consistent with such an interpretation.

The probable connection of this vase with the trilogy is further strengthened by the fact that Orestes pursued by the Furies is depicted on the reverse.

The *Choephoroi* ends as Orestes, who has assumed the suppliant's emblems, the bough and chaplet, rushes from the stage pursued in imagination by the Erinyes of his mother, and the retiring chorus asks the question that is to find its answer in the *Eumenides*:¹

ποῖ δῆτα κρανεῖ, ποῖ καταλήξει
μετακοιμισθὲν μένος ἄτης;

With the last play of the trilogy we come to the creation of Aeschylus that left its impress most clearly upon the vase-painter's art, and supplied him not alone with a new subject, but with an entirely novel type. For, although the conception of the Erinyes belonged to the most primitive element in Greek religion, Aeschylus, by bringing them upon the stage, was the first to give them a bodily presentment fixed in all the details of feature and costume.²

In the speech of the Pythian priestess, whose tottering reappearance from the interior of the temple and excited words, from a dramatic point of view, serve admirably to enhance the atmosphere of foreboding and suspense that prepares the audience for the sudden revelation of the interior of the temple, Aeschylus, as it were, creates this new type before our mental vision:³

πρόσθεν δὲ τάνδρὸς τοῦδε θαυμαστὸς λόχος
εὔδει γυναικῶν ἐν θρόνοισιν ἥμενος.
οὔτοι γυναικας, ἀλλὰ Γοργόνας λέγω,
οὐδ' αὖτε Γοργείοισιν εἰκάσω τύποις.
εἰδὼν ποτ' ἤδη Φινέως γεγραμμένας
δείπνον φερούσας· ἄπτεροί γε μὴν ἰδεῖν
αὖται, μέλαιναί δ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν βδελύκτροποι·
ρέγκουσι δ' οὐ πλατοῖσι φυσιάσμασιν·
ἐκ δ' ὀμμάτων λείβουσι δυσφιλή λίβα·

¹ Cho. 1075 f.

² Cf. J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*², p. 231: "Aeschylus then, we may safely assert, first gave to the Erinyes outward and visible shape, first differentiated them from Keres, Gorgons, or Harpies."

³ Eum. 46 ff.

καὶ κόσμος οὔτε πρὸς θεῶν ἀγάλματα
φέρειν δίκαιος οὔτ' ἐς ἀνθρώπων στέγας.

But we must avoid a too unimaginative literalness in trying to reconstruct for ourselves the appearance of these Furies. By adding together all the features of Gorgons and Harpies that ancient art has preserved,¹ we can hardly hope to create a type that will actually correspond to what Aeschylus brought upon the stage. Horror is in no such mathematical sense the sum of all its parts, and if Aeschylus had really only produced a composite picture of what was already familiar, it is inconceivable that he should have so terrified his audience. It is far more probable that the sight of certain features, hitherto associated only with the supernatural, in combination with a more human countenance, aroused the horror and disgust of which exaggerated accounts have come down to us in literature.² What the essential features in their appearance were, we are already told in the *Choephori*:³

δμῳαὶ γυναικες, αἶδε Γοργόνων δίκην
φαιοχίτωνες καὶ πεπλεκτανημέναι
πυκνοῖς δράκουνσιν.

and

ἄναξ Ἀπολλον, αἶδε πληθύνουσι δῆ,
κάξ ὀμμάτων στάζουσιν αἷμα δυσφιλές.

The Pythian priestess adds that their flesh as well as their garments was black, and that unlike the Harpies, whom they otherwise resembled, they had no wings. Apollo calls them:⁴

γραῖαι παλαιαὶ παῖδες.

These features, which are the only ones that the text of the play forces us to associate with the Erinyes, all appear, with the exception of the blood oozing from the eyes, on one or another of the vases dealing with the flight of Orestes, and I think the weight of this negative evidence may at least be brought to bear against the suggestion that

¹ This is the method of K. Böttiger, "Die Furiemaske," *Kleine Schriften*², Vol. I, pp. 189-277.

² *Vita Aeschyli*, p. 4 (Dindorf).

³ *Cho.* 1048 ff. and 1057 f.

⁴ *Eum.* 69.

Aeschylus portrayed them with the distended mouth and protruding tongue of the typical gorgoneion.¹

Of the Harpies, to whom he likens the Furies, Aeschylus himself must have given some word picture in his early play *Phineus*,² and extant monuments have preserved for us some indications of the character of the painting that he refers to in the lines:³

εἰδὼν ποτ' ἤδη Φινέως γεγραμμένας
δείπνον φερούσας, ἅπτεροί γε μὴν ἰδεῖν,

for we possess a series of vase-paintings of the Phineus myth, beginning with a black-figured cylix and ending with an extended composition on an early Italian amphora of the fourth century, that, by unusual excellencies either of drawing or conception, show evidence of reflecting the contemporary art of painting.

On the cylix of the sixth century⁴ both Harpies and Boreadae fly through the air propelled each by two enormous pairs of wings and winged boots. If Aeschylus had some such archaic painting in mind, and it is quite as reasonable to suppose that he refers to an old and famous work as to a newly executed one, the feature most clearly distinguishing his Furies from their artistic prototypes would certainly be their winglessness.

A Nolan amphora now in the British Museum,⁵ probably dating from the decade preceding the production of the play, although falling far

¹ O. Müller, *Die Eumeniden*, p. 185.

² Nauck, *Trag. graec. frag.*², fr. 260, gives a much restored passage from Philodemus, *De pietate*, p. 18.

³ *Eum.* 50 f.

⁴ B. F. cylix, Würzburg, 354, Furtwängler und Reichhold, *Die griechische Vasenmalerei*, I, p. 209, pl. 41. Furtwängler gives an interesting estimate of the artistic merits of the vase: "Unter allen altertümlichen Darstellungen aus dem dionysischen Kreise ragt die Phineus-Schale hervor. Sie ist unerreicht durch die Lebendigkeit, durch die Frische und die Originalität ihrer dionysischen Bilder. . . . Weder attische noch chalkidische Vasen bieten etwas, das sich künstlerisch mit der Phineus-Schale messen liesse. Sie gehört zu den bedeutendsten altertümlichen Malereien die uns erhalten sind, und sie lässt uns ahnen, was uns von alter Kunst verloren ist, indem wir sonst, statt der Arbeit eines wirklichen Künstlers wie diese, in der Regel nur handwerksmäßige Dekorationen auf den älteren Vasen besitzen."

⁵ British Museum E 302, *Cat.* III, p. 219; *Arch. Zeit.*, 1880, p. 138, pl. 12, 2.

below the other vases of this series in artistic merit, suggests, by its incompleteness, that it must be an excerpt from a larger picture. Phineus, enthroned *en face* beside the depleted table, stretches out his right arm and turns his head toward a Harpy, who makes off to the left with food and drink. Her equipment for flight consists of a single pair of wings. The apprehensive glance she casts backward is without meaning, unless we assume that the original painting included the pursuing Boreadae.¹

That a Greek artist of very unusual distinction busied himself with the Phineus myth early in the second half of the fifth century is shown by an oenochoe from Sicily,² that can hardly be dated before 430 or much after 420 B.C. At the left of the picture a Harpy lies at the feet of the seated Phineus, her limbs relaxed and head reversed in utter exhaustion or death. At the right two Boreadae bind a second Harpy, who, though fallen to her knees, offers desperate resistance. The pathos and the fiery, almost excessive energy of the painting awaken surprise in us who are dependent primarily upon sculpture for our conceptions of Greek art, and therefore look for these characteristics in the products of the fourth rather than in those of the fifth century. If, now, we compare these Harpies with the Furies on a South Italian crater of about the same date,³ we find the two almost identical, both in general conception and in details of costume, save that the former are winged and the latter have snakes coiled in their hair. Their features are beautiful and majestic, without a touch of brutishness or ferocity, and they both wear short chitons, heavy studded belts with crossed shoulder straps, and high hunting boots. Art, therefore, seems

¹ J. H. Huddilston, *The Attitude of the Greek Tragedians towards Art*, p. 16, says in commenting on this vase: "The painting is at any rate but a very few years earlier than the production of the *Eumenides* and is, moreover, so closely in harmony with the εἶδον . . . φερούσας of Aeschylus that one is inclined to connect the two in some way. It is not too much to conclude that the two were dependent on one and the same original." There is nothing, however, in this rather uninteresting vase-picture to suggest a famous original such as we must assume that Aeschylus had in mind; and contemporaneity is not, I think, a sufficiently strong argument to connect the vase with the *Eumenides*.

² *Monumenti Antichi*, XIV, 1904, pp. 75 ff., pl. V.

³ No. XXII.

to have accepted the partial analogy between Harpies and Furies which Aeschylus indicates at the opening of the *Eumenides*.¹

Perhaps it was during the heat of the first discussions aroused by the production of the play, that the idea of presenting this popular theme upon his wares occurred to the painter of a calpis (XXV) which can hardly be dated much after the production of the trilogy. And yet, although the nearest to Aeschylus in point of time, it is by no means the most faithful to the play. Orestes kneels on a small altar composed of rough stones, and there is neither omphalos nor laurel tree to indicate that the scene takes place at the Delphic sanctuary. His face, seen from the front, has the distraught and roving glance of a maniac. Of the suppliant's emblems he wears only the wreath. The drawn sword is here, as always, in his hand, and with his left arm, about which he has wrapped his chlamys, he tries to defend himself against the attacks of the onrushing Erinyes. Snakes writhe in their hands and bind their hair like fillets. They are wingless, and the foremost, who wears the short chiton of a huntress, and over it a fringed jerkin with cross straps, seems to resemble closely the Erinyes enstaged by Aeschylus. The second, whose figure was placed farther towards the side of the vase, and therefore treated with less care, wears only a sleeveless chiton. Artemis seated, bow in hand, upon a rock, occupies the corresponding position at the left, and Apollo, standing by the side of Orestes, holds a laurel branch in his right hand and extends the other as if to repel the persecutors of his suppliant. Apart from its chronological importance the vase has little to commend it. The drawing is both awkward and careless and the composition disjointed. Apollo's commanding gesture loses all significance if not interposed between Orestes and his pursuers. But the presence of Artemis is significant, and cannot be attributed to the random choice of a vase-painter seeking for a figure to complete his group. Had that been the case, he would naturally have selected one of the divinities more closely connected with the action of the drama: either Hermes, who is directly addressed by Apollo in line 90 and

¹ The design on a South Italian crater, published *Mon. dell' Inst.* III, pl. 49, although it reproduces a Greek original, seems to have suffered the contamination of local Italic art; hence the brutish features of the Harpies cannot be taken as characteristic of Greek conceptions. Daemons of all kinds in the native religion were so represented.

strangely enough never appears on any of the vases,¹ or Athena, who, as the dominant character in the play, was actually introduced into a number of the Delphic scenes. Were this the only appearance of Artemis one might be inclined to pass it over as accidental. She occupies a prominent position, however, on two of the finest vases dealing with the subject (XXII and XXVI), products, it is true, of Southern Italy, but one of them at least (XXII) representing pure Athenian tradition. In the play itself, on the other hand, there is no mention of her, not even in the opening prayer of the Pythian priestess. Hauser² suggests that the goddess may have been introduced into a revised version of the play enacted in Southern Italy, where the scene on the Areopagus, full as it is of local patriotism, might have proved unacceptable to the audience. But the Berlin calpis (XXV) is of Attic make and Hauser himself has pointed out the close relation between the crater (XXII) and Athenian art, and so we must seek the explanation of her presence rather in the tradition, both popular and literary, that connected the twin sister of Apollo with his sanctuary at Delphi.

The crater (XXII) contains another feature, the purification of Orestes, which seems to point towards the connection of the vase with the *Eumenides* as literature rather than as an acted play; for unless we accept the possibility of a pantomime performance³ of the ceremony upon the stage at the end of the first episode, we must seek for the painter's inspiration in the lines:⁴

μητροκτόνον μίasma δ' ἔκπλυντον πέλει.
ποταίνιον γὰρ ὃν πρὸς ἐστία θεοῦ
Φοίβου καθαρμοῖς ἡλάβη χοιροκτόνοις.

There is everything in this lovely vase, one of the few from Italy unsurpassed by even the best that Attica produced, to suggest either that its decorator was himself a man of unusual attainments, or that his work reflects some larger painting. Orestes sits on the altar with his back to

¹ This would lend color to Verall's suggestion (*The Eumenides of Aeschylus*, p. lv) that Hermes was only invoked and did not actually appear upon the stage.

² Cf. Furtwängler und Reichhold, *Die griechische Vasenmalerei*, II, p. 332.

³ This is the suggestion of F. Hauser, text to Furtwängler und Reichhold, *Die griechische Vasenmalerei*, II, p. 333.

⁴ *Eum.* 281 ff.

the omphalus, and holds his right hand with the drawn sword towards his chin. Here, under the influence of the god, madness seems to have given way to a brooding melancholy. Apollo, standing behind Orestes on the steps of the altar, holds above his head the pig whose dripping blood is to bring purification if not absolution from guilt. At the right stands Artemis, in the usual costume of the chase, a quiver on her back and two spears over her shoulder. At the left a Fury emerges from the ground, roused by the ghostly Clytemnestra, who appears above, shrouded and veiled, and touches upon the forehead one of the two Furies who sleep in each others' arms. She seems to utter the reproach :¹

εὖδοιτ' ἄν, ὥή, καὶ καθευδουσῶν τί δέϊ;

These Furies, with their majestic Phidian loveliness, have only the snaky locks and hunting costume to betray their baleful nature. The flow of their draperies and the postures of their limbs seem haunted, like a reminiscent melody, by the rhythm of the sculptures of the Parthenon. The Fury who rises from the ground might be Gê as she appears on the cylix of Erginus.² The introduction of the angry and implacable ghost of the murdered mother into this scene of purification is the painter's means of suggesting the idea developed in the *Eumenides*: the inability of the Delphic god to grant final absolution from a crime executed at his own instigation and express command. Artemis, beautiful as she is, stands in no integral relation to the rest of the group.

A crater in St. Petersburg (XXIII) definitely connects the purification with the opening scene of the play by introducing the figure of the Pythian priestess, holding the temple key and in flight towards the left. The artist has chosen a somewhat earlier moment than the one depicted on the crater in the Louvre. Apollo appears to be hastening, with laurel branch and phiale, towards Orestes, who kneels upon the four-sided altar in the familiar attitude of the maddened fugitive, while at the right a winged Fury halts in her pursuit and enters into angry altercation with the god. Here, as on a number of other vases, we have introduced into a purely Aeschylean scene the winged type of avenging spirit made familiar by Euripides.

¹ *Eum.* 94.

² *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, I, pl. 5; H. B. Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, II, fig. 112.

A third vase (XXIV) gives the scene in a still more abbreviated form. Only Apollo and Orestes are actually represented, but the latter, who kneels upon the square altar¹ and embraces the omphalos, looks to the left and extends his drawn sword in that direction in a manner to suggest the immediate appearance of the pursuing Fury. In this way, although not actually included in the scene, her presence is implied and an element of suspense rather cleverly, though perhaps accidentally, introduced. Apollo, who is nude save for a chlamys draped over the left arm, sprinkles the suppliant from a phiale with laurel leaves. A *laureanum* in the field further indicates the temple.

There is one other vase (XXVI), besides the two already mentioned, upon which the figure of Artemis appears, and we seem here for the first time to catch a glimpse of an actual stage representation of the play. It is a delightfully dramatic little composition in the style, if not actually from the hand, of the painter Assteas.² The artist fairly revels in picturesque elaborations. Three ornate Ionic columns supporting an architrave, and a conelike omphalos covered with the *agrenon* do not suffice to indicate the Delphic temple; two tripods are crowded into the composition and the laurel tree rises from the temple floor. Votive offerings of chariot wheels and helmets hang from the rafters. At the left a Fury drawn in black silhouette with snakes in her hair and wound about her arms, appears from behind a column. We seem to see her rushing through the air in her swift but wingless flight.³

ὄρεσ τε τόντων ἀντίποις ποτῶνται
 ἔλβη ἑλέρων. ὄρεσ ἑλέρων νεός.

Orestes, hat and chlamys flying, has thrown himself upon the omphalos. The Pythia raises her hands in horror, the key drops to the ground, and she rushes out of the sanctuary to the left. Apollo, clasping his bow in one hand and extending the other in a splendid gesture of command, interposes between the Fury and her prey as if with the words:⁴

¹ The omphalos is mentioned in the text.

² For a similar mannerism in the drawing of the drapery and treatment of the drapery we may compare the Pythia with Megara in the crater in Madrid representing the madness of Heracles (published *Mon. del Inst. VIII*, pl. 12).

³ *Ann. ep. 1*.

⁴ *Ann. ep. 1*.

ἔξω, κλειύω, τῶνδε δομάτων τάχος
χωρεῖτ', ἀπαλλάσσεσθε μαινομένων ἀνθρώπων.

At the right Artemis, standing on tiptoe on a sculptured base,¹ shades her eyes and spies out the cause of the confusion, while her two dogs, scenting the unholy presence, raise their heads and utter a dismal howl.

This picture, with its abounding life, its noise, crowding, and confusion, although lacking in tragic dignity, suggests admirably the excitement of a dramatic performance, and in the setting, no less than in the spirit of the scene, we may, I believe, see actual reminiscences of the stage. In the economy of the vase-painter's art, the locality of the action is usually suggested in as abbreviated a form as possible. Sometimes a single column suffices to indicate a temple, or a diminutive building, introduced into a corner of the composition, serves the same purpose.² But here the three equidistant columns, supporting a long architrave, seem to recall a scenic background.³ Whether we are to think of this as the proscenium of a stageless theatre, or as the superstructure of a raised stage it is difficult to say. The manner in which the Pythia runs out of the temple towards the front might incline one to the former view, but it is futile to attempt a reconstruction of the stage from a vase-picture which, although reminiscent of an actual performance, certainly gives no literal transcription of a scene.⁴

¹ The figure of Artemis has almost the appearance of an animated statue. An archaic statue of Artemis with two dogs appears on the Pompeian wall-painting 'I representing the sacrifice of Iphigenia' (cf. W. Heflig, *Lebensbilder der Antike*, No. 1302).

² Cf. the vase published by Stephani, *Antiqu. Revue*, 1872, pl. 1, with a representation of the dispute between Athena and Poseidon.

³ Cf. the background on the "Phryakes" crater from Lemni, published *Mus. Gall.* Jan. IV, pl. 12; *Wiener Vorlesungen*, Series B, pl. III, 2.

⁴ Attempts to use the vase of Assteas representing the mad Heracles throwing his child into the flames (*Mus. Gall.* Jan. VIII, pl. 10) as evidence concerning the existence of a stage in the fourth century B.C. have led scholars to diametrically opposed conclusions. Bethe, *Abhandl. der 3. deutschen Archäologischen Konferenz*, XV (1900), pp. 66 ff., argues that we must consider the picture as a reproduction of a two-story, box-like stage, the substructure of which has not been represented by the vase-painter. Graef, *Hermes* 36 (1901), p. 88, in opposing Bethe, declares that this vase has nothing to do either with Euripidean or post-Euripidean tragedy. Engelmann, *Archäologische Studien zu den Tragikern* (1900), p. 12, ingeniously uses this and other vases in support of Dörpfeld's theory of a stageless theatre.

That a vase-painter could reflect the influence of the stage, and yet keep himself free from its spirit is, I believe, shown on a vase (XXVII) which, while it mirrors the costumes and trappings of the theatre, breathes none of its atmosphere of tension and excitement. But this, far from reflecting on the ability of the artist, shows him rather as a man of independent judgment and spiritual insight. He chose to introduce Athena into the scene at Delphi, finding the suggestion for her presence not only in the further development of the play, but in the emphasis laid upon her connection with the sanctuary by the Pythian priestess:¹

τούτους ἐν εὐχαῖς φροιμάζομαι θεούς·
Παλλὰς προναία δ' ἐν λόγοις πρεσβεύεται·

and he felt that the proximity of the deity who was to bestow the final pardon on Orestes must free him, for the moment, from the terror of madness. Therefore Orestes does not kneel upon the omphalus as the distraught suppliant, but looks quietly up at Athena who, standing at his left with one foot raised,² appears to bend down and engage him in conversation. She wears helmet and aegis, in addition to a long cloak and a chiton heavily embroidered in theatrical fashion. Apollo, with a long cloak fastened over one shoulder, stands on the other side of the omphalus in front of the laurel tree, on which hang taeniae and votive pinakes, and glances down at an insolent Fury. The attitude of these two figures suggests the colloquy that in the play takes place after Orestes has left for Athens. About this Fury, with her wings of disproportionate size, her ornate costume of the hunt, and large coiling snake, seems to hang the atmosphere of the property room. The second Fury, who appears above the tripod that rises behind the omphalus, is unwinged but plentifully supplied with snakes; they encircle her hair, start from her shoulders, and coil in her hand. A veiled female half-figure in the upper right hand corner probably represents Clytemnestra, the spirit hostile to Orestes, while the corresponding youthful warrior at the left may represent Pylades, his mortal champion. Though the figure

¹ *Eum.* 20 f.

² The attitude is an unusual one for Athena. To my knowledge it can be paralleled only by the figure on a gem, published by Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, pl. XXVII, 57.

of the young Apollo is a splendid artistic creation and Athena is imbued with truly divine majesty, the picture has some minor defects, characteristic quite as much of the age and country as of the individual artist. He is careful of details, yet often careless of reality. The embroidery of the robes and the scales of Athena's aegis are beautifully reproduced, but it is difficult to believe that Orestes could long maintain his position on the omphalos, or that the wings of the Fury were, as they appear to be, attached to a single shoulder.¹

The same figures appear in different grouping on two other vases. The one (XXVIII) derives its chief interest from the curious use the painter has made of monumental types. In the centre Orestes kneels upon a high altar, and to the right, Apollo, with a wreath in his long curling hair and a laurel branch in his right hand, leans upon a pilaster quite in the easy manner of the Praxitelean god.² He glances quietly at Orestes, but is not concerned with the Fury who appears to the right in the upper field of the picture, wingless and armed with a spear, and seems to recoil before the stern glance and commanding gesture of Athena.³ The extended left arm of the goddess is draped with the aegis, which thus serves the double purpose of protecting the suppliant on the altar below and repulsing his pursuer. She is helmeted and leans upon a spear with her right hand. Between Athena and the Fury a small seated Nike is interposed. She faces the former and points towards her with an object, probably meant to represent a palm-leaf fan. The peculiar manner in which Athena here assumes the part properly belonging to Apollo, in freeing the sanctuary from the presence of the Erinyes, hints at the possibility that the vase-painter allowed his choice of types to dominate his conception of the scene, for the outstretched arm of Athena at once suggests command, and the relaxed position of Apollo the passive rôle he is made to play.

The other vase upon which Athena appears (XXIX) is a calpis of late date and no artistic merit, interesting only on account of the variant type of Erinyes it introduces. Orestes sits on the ground with his back

¹ Von Rohden, in Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, p. 2007, attributes the vase to Assteas or his school.

² Compare the statue of Apollo, S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire grecque et romaine*, I, p. 241, No. 948 C.

³ Cf. the archaistic statue in Naples, S. Reinach, *op. cit.* I, p. 227, No. 848.

to the omphalus. He clutches the leg of a large tripod with his left hand, and looks back at his tormentor who, winged and dressed in a long chiton, holds a scourge¹ and is wreathed about with snakes. In her heavy drapery and quiet demeanor she no longer represents the swift pursuers, the wrathful hounds of his mother as Orestes calls them,² *μητρὸς ἔγκοτοι κύνες*, but a kind of avenging angel, like the Poinae who scourge offenders in the lower world. Apollo sits at the right facing the Fury, and Athena stands beside him.³

If chronological considerations have forced us first to discuss those pictures on which the vase-painter has enlarged upon the Aeschylean scene, and united several successive incidents in order to produce a more effective composition, we have still to study a late vase (XXXI) from Southern Italy which shows not only fidelity to a single moment in the play, but faithfully represents the Erinyes as Aeschylus conceived them. Black-skinned, with scanty white hair⁴ framing their ugly faces, and wingless, they lie, five in number, sleeping about the temple, — a small herōon supported by Ionic columns. The frenzied Orestes with sword and scabbard in either hand sits upon the altar embracing the omphalus. To the right the priestess departs with a backward glance and gesture of horror. The execution is careless in the extreme, but in the appearance of the Erinyes the painter has succeeded in suggesting, with a realism that we are wont to consider foreign to his art, the pecul-

¹ The scourge in the hand of the Erinyes is not wholly un-Aeschylean. Orestes, in enumerating the punishments with which Apollo has threatened him if he fail to avenge his father, mentions the *χαλκήλατος πλάστιγξ* of the Erinyes.

² *Cho.* 1054.

³ There is another vase (XXX) with Athena in the composition, but as it has not been published and its whereabouts is unknown, I merely quote for the sake of completeness, the description from the *Cataloghi del Museo Campana*, Ser. IV, No. 16: "Vaso a colonnette, figure gialle. Oreste supplica nel tempio d' Apollo. Coperto di clamide e col pilo viatorio dietro le spalle, ha nella destra la spada, si rifugia all' ara di Delfo, rappresentata da sei grandi pietre. Presso del medesimo sta Apollo che in espressivo atto vieta il progredire più oltre alla furia alata, recante in ciascuna mano un serpente. Pallade ancora prende in tutela il figlio di Egisto (?). Al di sopra del capo di Oreste si vede nel campo un bucranio colle vitte, emblema dei sacrifici e della celebrità dell' ara, alla quale si è rifugiato."

⁴ Aeschylus does not actually depict the Erinyes as white-haired, but the suggestion for such a conception is contained in the epithet Apollo applies to them, *Eum.* 69, *γραιὶ παλαιὰ παῖδες*.

iar repulsiveness of the Aeschylean creation. These creatures have no affinity with any other type. They are as far removed from the archaic gorgoneion as from the idealized Furies of other vase-paintings, and the extraordinarily natural manner in which the relaxation of sleep is portrayed suggests that the artist either drew his inspiration from life or copied, however rudely, the work of some more important master. Their equipment, too, seems to differ from what we have found on other vases. Instead of the torches, swords, scourges, or even spears of other Erinyes, they carry a short staff or wand, a feature that we know to have characterized them, although it is never mentioned by Aeschylus. Indeed, if there is any truth in the story narrated by Lycophron,¹ our Apulian vase-painter may have witnessed, at some time, a curious ceremony performed by the inhabitants of the town of Dardanus. In the monologue which bears her name, Cassandra prophesies that the maidens of this village, when they wish to escape matrimony, will take refuge at her shrine disguised as Furies, and she ends with the words:

κείναις ἐγὼ δηναιδὸν ἄφθιτος θεὰ
ῥα βδελφύροις γυναιξὶν αὐδηθήσομαι.

The remaining vases that deal with Orestes at Delphi, although they bring the evidence of numbers to testify to the hold that the third play of the trilogy had upon the popular imagination, offer no new points of view for our study, and so, without multiplying descriptions that must of necessity resemble each other in their essential features, I shall select those minor details that seem worth commenting upon.

A picture (XXXII) that represents the same moment as the St. Petersburg crater contains only three figures, and offers a good example of the shorthand that vase-painters sometimes employ when they wish to treat a subject in a condensed manner. Orestes kneels upon a box-like altar and two laurel sprays in the field serve to indicate the locality as Delphi. A single Erinyes armed with a torch and a curious crooked sword represents the host of his pursuers. The priestess, as usual, departs in precipitous alarm.

The artist who placed a charming little composition on the neck of a crater in Berlin (XXXIII) has proved himself more master of his own craft than of Delphic tradition, for he has seated Apollo, who inter-

¹ Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 1131 ff.

poses between Orestes and the Fury, upon the tripod of the Pythia,¹ while she escapes towards the right accompanied by a temple attendant carrying a platter. Here, too, the impression of frantic haste in the suppliant's flight is conveyed with particular success by the convulsive, but not ungraceful, manner in which he has thrown himself upon the altar with head reversed and rolling eyes.

But it remains for a toy crater in Vienna (XXXIV) to supply an element of humor that may not be wholly unconscious. The vase is wretchedly executed and would not deserve mention were it not for its subject. Orestes kneels upon the altar in such a way as to interpose the omphalus between himself and the Fury, and so seems to rely for protection rather on the bulk than on the sanctity of the object he embraces. A large dog follows in the wake of the pursuer, the only visible embodiment upon vase-pictures of the conception of the Furies as hounds of the chase.

An extended composition on the neck of a crater in St. Petersburg (XXXV) shows a charming variety in the attitudes of the Erinyes, who appear in groups of two at either end of the picture. Orestes is at the altar in the centre, his divine protector by his side, while the nearer Fury to the left rushes towards him in stormy pursuit. The further one, half sunk in the ground, her head thrown back and arm uplifted, is to all appearances the ecstatic Bacchante, a type that the vase-painter, in his search for novelty, has simply borrowed. Those on the right have already entered into the bitter controversy with Apollo, and the one who stands before him with a long wand might be uttering the accusing words :²

ἄναξ Ἀπολλον, ἀντάκουσον ἐν μέρει.
αὐτὸς σὺ τούτων οὐ μεταίτιος πέλει,
ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἔπραξας ὦν παναίτιος.

Upon a vase in Copenhagen (XXXVI), much like the fifth century crater (XXII) in general conception, though falling immeasurably be-

¹ Apollo in his mantic capacity occupies the omphalus, not the tripod, as Hermes relates in the *Ion* of Euripides, 5 ff. :

ἥκω δὲ Δελφῶν τήνδε γῆν, ἔν' ὀμφαλὸν
μέσον καθίζων Φοῖβος ὑμνωδεῖ βροτοῖς.
τά τ' ὄντα καὶ μέλλοντα θεσπίζων ἀεί.

² *Eum.* 198.

low it in execution, the group is again composed of Apollo, Orestes, and the pursuers, one of whom rises from the ground with flying hair and snakes writhing about her arms.

A guttus (XXXVII) and an askos (XXXVIII), decorated in relief, probably carry us further into the third century than any of the other vase-pictures, but the type of the composition remains unaltered. Orestes, with one knee upon the ground, embraces the omphalos and stretches out his right hand, armed with the sword, to defend himself against the attacking Erinyes.¹

On three vases (XXXIX, XL, XLI) the composition has been reduced to a formula of pursuit, in which Orestes, attacked by a Fury on either side, defends himself with sword held in the right hand and scabbard in the left. It is interesting to note that in the conception of the vase-painters it was evidently the presence of the god Apollo, and not the sanctity of omphalos and altar, that protected the suppliant from the Erinyes, for on two pictures, although he kneels at the holy of holies, they attack him with snake and torch. On the third vase (XLI) we seem to see Orestes on the long wanderings that led him ultimately to Athens and the ancient image of the goddess. That the scene is not at Delphi, but in the open, is shown by the pebbles used to indicate the ground-line. Both Erinyes attack him with snakes, but his head is averted from the one who holds in her left hand a mirror that reflects the image of his murdered mother. Finally, in one instance (XLII) Orestes flees before a single winged Erinyes.

In the *Eumenides*, as the last of the trilogy, we move out of the darkness into the light, and in every scene the note of hope is sounded more strongly, until we emerge into the final brightness of the acquittal and the solemn pageant that establishes the Erinyes as Σεμναί in their cavernous dwelling. The arrival of Orestes at the sanctuary of Athena is not depicted on the vases,² but there seems to be a faint echo of the

¹ On the askos the Erinyes is not actually represented. In her stead a snake darts out at Orestes. This must, I think, be taken rather as a symbolic or abbreviated representation than a return to the primitive conception of the Erinyes as a snake. For illustrations of this conception on early Greek pottery see J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*², pp. 235-237.

² Verrall, in his edition of the *Eumenides*, p. liii, expresses the view that the interior of the temple was not revealed at all in the first act. But here, if anywhere, I think the evidence of the vases ought to be considered. They represent only the scene at the omphalos.

trial on a calpis in St. Petersburg (XLIII). Here the result of the trial, rather than the trial itself, is depicted. It is indeed difficult to recognize in this curled and richly dressed youth the desperate fugitive from torment and pursuit, or the implacable Erinyes in the graceful maidens that resemble the daughters of Atlas sporting about the golden apple tree.¹ Their transformation into beneficent powers is already complete, and not even the emblems of snake and torch remain to mark their former identity.² Orestes, crowned with laurel and carrying two spears in his right hand, stands in front of the urn into which Athena has just cast her vote. He appears to be conversing with the goddess, who faces him and stands in the centre of the picture on a somewhat higher level. She wears helmet and aegis and carries a spear. A small Nike flies towards her to indicate the triumph of her decision. Gê,³ identified by an enormous snake that curls over her arm and rises in a loop behind her head, sits at the right and looks towards Orestes. An Erinyes stands in front of her, leaning on her knee. Another is seated above to the right and three more occupy the field to the left. Hermes stands at the extreme right, but Apollo, whose presence suggests itself far more naturally, is omitted.⁴

With this vase we have come to the last link in the chain that connects the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus with the art of the vase-painter, and, in looking back, we must ask ourselves how close a bond we have succeeded in establishing between the two. Of the *Agamemnon* we have found no traces on monuments that represent purely Greek tradition. On the other hand, do the many typical representations of Orestes and Electra at the grave of their father really go back, consciously and directly, to the *Choephoroi* of Aeschylus, or rather to a form of the

¹ Cf. the vase of Meidias, Furtwängler und Reichhold, *Die gr. Vasenmalerei*, pl. 8.

² Of course, in the absence of all emblems, the identification as Erinyes cannot be certain.

³ A statue of Gê stood in the sanctuary of the Semnae on the Arcopogus, Paus. I, 28, 6.

⁴ An entirely different interpretation, but one that seems to me less probable in view of the large urn placed between Athena and the youth, has been suggested by Heydemann and taken up by Crusius (Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der Mythologie*, art. Kadmos, pp. 839-840). They see in this picture Athena encouraging Cadmus before his combat with the dragon.

myth, ancient in its origin, that first inspired and then reabsorbed the conceptions of the poets, Xanthus, Stesichorus, and Aeschylus? Doubtless among the people at large the legend, as Aeschylus had told it, was known to many who had never heard of the poet; just as the stories of Shakespeare's plays, quite dissociated from his name, are repeated in parts of rural England. But it was not to this class that the vase-painters catered. The pictures are almost invariably found on large vases that served a partly useful, partly ornamental purpose in the houses of the rich and cultured population of Southern Italy; and if they demanded and liked these representations it was doubtless on account of their literary and theatrical associations. There is, however, nothing in the pictures to suggest that the vase-painter had either seen an actual representation of the play or done more than familiarize himself, in a general way, with the drama he was called upon to illustrate.

But in the representations of the opening scene of the *Eumenides* there breathes an entirely different spirit. The momentary emotion,—the terror of the priestess, the exhaustion of the suppliant, the indignation of the affronted god,—seem to have been caught from the living picture of the stage and reproduced, often with striking fidelity. And in view of the number of vases we have been able to associate with this scene, we are justified in maintaining that no other single creation of the tragic poets exerted so marked an influence on the vase-painter's art.

LIST OF MONUMENTS¹

THE AGAMEMNON

The Sacrifice of Iphigenia

I. Pompeian wall-painting in Naples.

Raoul-Rochette, *Monuments Inédits*, p. 135, pl. 27; Helbig, *Camp-nische Wandgemälde*, p. 283, No. 1304; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, I, fig. 807.

The Murder of Agamemnon

II. Cylix (Attic severe r. f.), Berlin, No. 2301.

Archaeologische Zeitung, 1854, pl. 66, 2; Robert, *Bild und Lied*, pp. 150, 178.

¹ In this list I have noted the principal monuments which I have discussed, with brief bibliographical references for each. The Roman numerals are the ones used in the text in referring to the monuments.

- III. Calyx Crater (Campanian), St. Petersburg, No. 812.
 Millin-Reinach, *Peintures de Vases Antiques*, I, pl. 58; Overbeck, *Gallerie heroischer Bildwerke*, p. 680, No. 3; *Arch. Zeit.*, 1854, pl. 66, 3; Stephani, *Compte-Rendu*, 1863, p. 43.
- IV. Etruscan cinerary urn.
 Rochette, *Mon. Inéd.*, p. 145, pl. 29; Brunn, *Urne Etrusche*, I, pl. 74, 2; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 682, No. 5, pl. 28, 3; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, I, fig. 22.
- V. Etruscan cinerary urn.
 Brunn, *Urne Etrusche*, I, pl. 85, 4; *Ann. dell' Inst.*, 1868, Tav. d' agg. N.

THE CHOEPHORI

Orestes and Pylades at the Grave of Agamemnon

- VI. Amphora (Campanian of the Nolan type), British Museum, F 143
 (*Cat.* IV, p. 70, fig. 21).

The Meeting of Orestes and Electra at the Grave of Agamemnon

- VII. Scyphus (Lucanian).
 Inghirami, *Vasi Fittili*, II, pl. 140; Rochette, *Mon. Inéd.*, p. 151; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 687, No. 14.
- VIII. Terra cotta relief from Melos, Louvre.
 Rayet, *Catalogue de la collection d' antiquités du Louvre*, 8; *Mon. dell' Inst.*, VI, pl. 57, 1; Conze, *Ann. dell' Inst.*, 1861, pp. 340 ff.; Robert, *Bild und Lied*, pp. 167 ff.
- IX. Lecythus (white ground), British Museum, D 33 (*Cat.* III, p. 399).

PLATE I.

- X. Lecythus (white ground).
 Inghirami, *Vasi Fittili*, II, pl. 157; Rochette, *Mon. Inéd.*, p. 156, pl. 31 A.
- XI. Amphora (Lucanian), Naples, No. 1755.
 Millingen-Reinach, *Peintures de Vases Antiques*, pl. 14; Inghirami, *Vasi Fittili*, II, pl. 137; Rochette, *Mon. Inéd.*, p. 151; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 687, No. 13; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, III, fig. 1939.
- XII. Calpis (Lucanian), Naples, No. 2858.
 Inghirami, *Vasi Fittili*, II, pl. 151; Rochette, *Mon. Inéd.*, p. 159, pl. 34; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 688, No. 15, pl. 28, 5; Huddilston, *Greek Tragedy in the Light of Vase-paintings*, p. 48, fig. 2.
- XIII. Calpis (Lucanian), Munich, No. 814.
 Inghirami, *Vasi Fittili*, II, pl. 154 (incomplete); Huddilston, *Gr. Tragedy, etc.*, p. 52, fig. 3.

XIV. Amphora (Lucanian).

Millingen, *Vases Coghill*, pl. 45; Moses, *Vases Englefield*, pl. 20;
Inghirami, *Vasi Fittili*, II, pl. 153; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 690,
No. 16.

XV. Amphora (Lucanian), Louvre, No. 544.

PLATE II; cf. Huddilston, *Gr. Tragedy, etc.*, p. 54.

XVI. Medallion Crater (Lucanian), Naples, No. 1761.

Millingen-Reinach, *Peintures de Vases Antiques*, pl. 16; Inghirami,
Vasi Fittili, II, pl. 139; Rochette, *Mon. Inéd.*, p. 158, pl. 31;
Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 685, No. 9, pl. 28, 7.

XVII. Vase, formerly in the Hamilton Collection.

Tischbein, *Hamilton Coll.*, II, pl. 15; Inghirami, *Vasi Fittili*, II,
pl. 141; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 686, No. 10.

XVIII. Bell Crater (South Italian), British Museum, F 57 (*Cat.* IV, p. 40).

D'Hancarville, *Hamilton Collection*, II, pl. 100.

The Murder of Aegisthus

XIX. Pitcher (Apulian), Bari, not published.

Discussed, Furtwängler, *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1888,
p. 1451.

The Murder of Clytemnestra

XX. Etruscan mirror.

Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 704, No. 38; Gerhard, *Etruskische
Spiegel*, II, No. 237.

Apollo's Command to Orestes

XXI. Nestoris (Lucanian), Naples, No. 1984.

Rochette, *Mon. Inéd.*, p. 188, pl. 37; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*,
p. 715, No. 56, pl. 29, 11; *Arch. Zeit.*, 1860, pl. 138, 1; Bau-
meister, *Denkmäler*, II, fig. 1307.

THE EUMENIDES

The Purification of Orestes at Delphi

XXII. Bell Crater (South Italian), Louvre.

Mon. dell' Inst., IV, pl. 48; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 714, No.
55, pl. 29, 7; *Arch. Zeit.*, 1860, pl. 138, 2; Baumeister, *Denk-
mäler*, II, fig. 1314; Furtwängler und Reichhold, *Griechische
Vasenmalerei*, pl. 120, 3.

XXIII. Bell Crater (Apulian), St. Petersburg, No. 1734.

Stephani, *Compte-Rendu*, 1863, p. 213, cf. p. 259, No. 12.

XXIV. Bell Crater (Lucanian), British Museum, F 166 (*Cat.* IV, p. 84).

Ann. dell' Inst., 1847, Tav. d' agg. X; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*,
p. 716, No. 58, pl. 29, 12; *Arch. Zeit.*, 1860, p. 62, pl. 137, 3.

Orestes takes Refuge at Delphi

- XXV. Calpis (Attic r. f., early fine style), Berlin, No. 2380.
Arch. Zeit., 1884, pl. 13.
- XXVI. Amphora (South Italian, style of Assteas), Naples, No. 3249.
 Jahn, *Vasenbilder*, pl. I; Bötticher, *Berliner Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1859, pl. 1; Huddilston, *Greek Tragedy, etc.*, p. 61, fig. 6.
- XXVII. Calyx Crater, formerly in the Hope Collection.
 Millin-Reinach, *Peintures de Vases Antiques*, II, pl. 68; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 712, No. 54, pl. 29, 9; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, II, fig. 1315.
- XXVIII. Amphora (Apulian), Vatican, Helbig, *Führer*,² II, No. 1238.
 Rochette, *Mon. Inéd.*, p. 90, pl. 38; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 711, No. 53, pl. 29, 8; *Arch. Zeit.*, 1860, pl. 137, 4, cf. pp. 54 ff.; *Arch. Zeit.*, 1884, pp. 199 ff.
- XXIX. Calpis (Campanian), Berlin.
Arch. Anz. V (1890), p. 90, No. 8; J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*², p. 231, fig. 51.
- XXX. Celebe, Louvre (?), not published.
 Described, *Cataloghi del Museo Campana*, Ser. IV, No. 16; cf. Stephani, *Compte-Rendu*, 1863, p. 260, 13; *Arch. Zeit.*, 1884, p. 206.
- XXXI. Calyx Crater (Apulian), St. Petersburg, No. 349.
 Stephani, *Compte-Rendu*, 1863, pp. 251 ff., pl. VI, 5.
- XXXII. Amphora (Apulian), Collection Jatta.
 Rochette, *Mon. Inéd.*, p. 419, pl. 76, 8; Minervini, *Bull. Nap.*, II (1844), p. 141; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 707, No. 43, pl. 29, 5.
- XXXIII. Volute Crater (Apulian), Berlin, No. 3256.
 Rochette, *Mon. Inéd.*, p. 193, pl. 35; Gerhard, *Apulische Vasenbilder*, pl. A, 6; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 710, No. 52, pl. 29, 4.
- XXXIV. Toy crater, Imperial Cabinet, Vienna.
Arch. Zeit., 1877, pl. 4, 1, cf. pp. 17, 137.
- XXXV. Volute Crater (Apulian), St. Petersburg, No. 523.
Bull. Nap., II (1844), pp. 107 ff., pl. 7, 1.
- XXXVI. Bell Crater (Apulian), Copenhagen.
 Thorlacius, *Las Pictum, etc.* (Copenhagen, 1826); Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, II, pl. 13, No. 148; Gerhard, *Metroën*, pl. II, 2 (only Orestes and the omphalos); Smith, *De Malede Vaser i Kjöbenhavn*, p. 81; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 710, No. 51.
- XXXVII. Guttus with relief, not published.
 Described, Brunn, *Bull. dell' Inst.*, 1853, p. 165.
- XXXVIII. Askos with relief, British Museum, G 48 (*Cat.* IV, p. 245), not published.

Orestes Pursued by the Furies

XXXIX. Vase, formerly in the Hamilton Collection.

Tischbein, *Second Hamilton Collection*, III, pl. 23; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 707, No. 42, pl. 29, 10.

XL. Rhyton.

D'Hancarville, *Antiquités étrusques, grecques et romaines*, II, pl. 30, 31; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 707, No. 44.

XLI. Nestoris (Lucanian), Naples, No. 1984.

Rochette, *Mon. Inéd.*, p. 186, pl. 36; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 706, No. 41, pl. 29, 2.

XLII. Bell Crater (South Italian).

Millingen, *Vases Coghill*, pl. 29, 1; Overbeck, *Her. Bildw.*, p. 705, No. 40, pl. 29, 3.

The Acquittal of Orestes on the Areopagus

XLIII. Calpis, St. Petersburg, No. 2189.

Stephani, *Compte-Rendu*, 1860, pp. 99 ff., pl. V.

DOCTORS OF PHILOSOPHY IN CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY AND CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY, 1875-1909.*

1875

WILLIAM EVERETT,

Assistant Professor of Latin, Harvard University, 1873-1877; Headmaster, Adams Academy, Quincy, Mass., 1878-1907. Died in 1910.

1877

JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE, *On the Homeric uses of the subjunctive and optative moods*. 18 Concord Avenue, Cambridge, Mass. Professor of Greek in Harvard University, 1884-1909. Resigned in 1909.

1880

EDWARD EMERSON PHILLIPS, *On the historic worth of Aeschines' Oration on the Embassy*. Professor of Philosophy, Marietta College, Marietta, O.

1883

FARLEY BREWER GODDARD, *Studiorum Cyrenensium capita antiquaria historica*. Instructor in Greek, Columbia University, 1891-1892. Died in 1896.

WILLIAM TAGGARD PIPER, *De ratione nominum Romanorum praesertim de numero praeonominum prisco*. 179 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Mass.

ARTHUR WELLINGTON ROBERTS, *De homicidiis apud Graecos*.

Head of the Classical Department, Brookline High School, Brookline, Mass.

1884

HERBERT MORISON CLARKE, *Quaestiones de synizesi Homerica*.

Professor of French and German, St. Stephen's College, Annandale, N.Y.

EDWARD SOUTHWORTH HAWES, *Summarium usus Plautini in enuntiationibus condicionalibus*.

Head of the Department of Greek, Brooklyn Polytechnic Preparatory School, Brooklyn, N.Y.

1885

ALBERT ANDREW HOWARD, *De usu quodam infinitivi perfecti Latini commentatio*. Transl. in Harv. Stud. Class. Philol., I (1890), pp. 111-138.

Professor of Latin, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

* This list of Doctors of Philosophy in Classical Philology and Classical Archaeology is published in accordance with a recent vote of the Department of the Classics. After each name is printed the title of the thesis, and when the thesis has been published, in whole or in part, the date and place of publication are indicated. The original theses are preserved in the College Library.

162 *Doctors of Philosophy in Classical Philology, 1875-1909*

JAMES RIGNALL WHEELER, *De cōparationibus et translationibus quas e mari et re navali mutuati sunt Aeschylus et Sophocles.*

Professor of Greek Archaeology and Art, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.

1887

MORRIS HICKY MORGAN, *De ignis eliciendi modis apud antiquos commentatio.* Harv. Stud. Class. Philol., I (1890), pp. 13-64.

Professor of Classical Philology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. Died in 1910.

1888

JOSIAH BRIDGE, *Num Lucianus et Cynicum et Fugitivos scripserit.* Transl. in part in Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc., XIX (1888), pp. 33-39.

Instructor in Greek, Westminster School, Simsbury, Conn.

1889

GEORG RICHARD RODEMANN, *De Sibylla et Bacide.*

Principal of Bedford Academy, Brooklyn, N.Y.

1890

HERMAN WADSWORTH HAYLEY, *Quaestiones Petronianae.* Harv. Stud. Class. Philol., II (1891), pp. 1-40.

Tutor in Latin, Harvard University, 1893-1896. Died in 1899.

1891

JOHN WILLIAM HENRY WALDEN, *De participiis praesentium usu Ammiano.*

Private Tutor, 13 Mt. Auburn Street, Cambridge, Mass.

1893

WILLIAM NICKERSON BATES, *Quaestiones Lycophroneae.* Summarized in Harv. Stud. Class. Philol., VI (1895), pp. 75-82.

Professor of Greek, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

WILLIAM JAMES BATTLE, *De exsecrationibus lamminis plumbeis insculptis.* Synopsis publ. in Proc. Spec. Sess. Amer. Philol. Assoc., Dec., 1894, pp. liv-lviii.

Professor of Greek, and Dean of the College of Arts, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.

CHARLES PEABODY, *De saturnio versu.*

Honorary Director of the Department of American Archaeology, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., and Assistant in European Archaeology, Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

1894

FRANCIS KINGSLEY BALL, *De frenis apud antiquos.* A portion publ. in a note on *Λιθοκόλλητον*, Sophocles' Trachiniae 1261, in Class. Rev., VIII (1894), pp. 197, 198.

Instructor in Greek and German, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H.

CHARLES BURTON GULICK, *De scholiis Aristophaneis quaestiones mythicae*. Harv. Stud. Class. Philol., V (1894), pp. 83-166.

Professor of Greek, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

MAURICE WHITTEMORE MATHER, *Quo modo iaciendi verbi composita in praesentibus temporibus enuntiaverint et scripserint antiqui quaeritur*. Harv. Stud. Class. Philol., VI (1895), pp. 83-151.

Editor, care of Ginn and Co., Athenaeum Press, Cambridge, Mass.

1895

FRANK COLE BABBITT, *De Euripidis Antiopa*.

Professor of Greek, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.

HARRY EDWIN BURTON, *De rebus sacris apud Aristophanem repertis*.

Professor of Latin, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.

HENRY THEODORE HILDRETH, *De usu plusquamperfecti indicativi Latini usque ad Augusti aetatem commentatio*.

Professor of Greek, Roanoke College, Salem, Va.

GEORGE EDWIN HOWES, *De versibus Homericis apud Platonem et Aristotelem repertis*. Transi. in Harv. Stud. Class. Philol., VI (1895), pp. 153-237.

Professor of Ancient Languages, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.

1896

ARTHUR STODDARD COOLEY, *De natura deorum quid senserint antiqui Graeci*.

Abstract of the portion on Zeus publ. in Proc. Amer. Philol. Assoc., XXXII (1901), pp. cxl-cxlii; XXXIII (1902), pp. lxxv-lxxvii.

Lecturer, and Manager and Conductor of European Tours, Auburndale, Mass.

ARTHUR WINFRED HODGMAN, *De re metrica titulorum Latinorum praeter saturnios dactylicosque*. Abridged and transl. in Harv. Stud. Class. Philol., IX (1898), pp. 133-168.

Professor of Classical Languages, Ohio State University, Columbus, O.

RICHARD CLARKE MANNING, JR., *Correptio syllabae longae brevem sequentis quatenus apud scriptores fabulae palliatae in interioribus arsis versuum iambicorum et trochaicorum admissa sit quaeritur*. Partial summary publ. as "On a supposed limitation of the law of 'breves breviares' in Plautus and Terence," in Harv. Stud. Class. Philol., IX (1898), pp. 87-95.

Professor of Latin, Kenyon College, Gambier, O.

1897

GEORGE DAVIS CHASE, *The origin of Roman praenomina*. Harv. Stud. Class. Philol., VIII (1897), pp. 103-184.

Professor of Latin, University of Maine, Orono, Maine.

1898

CLARENCE POWERS BILL, *De Graecorum theoris et theoriis*. Partial summary publ. in "Notes on the Greek *Θεωρῆς* and *Θεωρία*," in Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc., XXXII (1901), pp. 196-204.

Professor of Greek, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.

164 *Doctors of Philosophy in Classical Philology, 1875-1909*

WILLIAM SARGENT BURRAGE, *Quam accurate Sophoclis verba in Graecis litteris prolata sint quaeritur.*

Professor of the Greek Language and Literature, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt.

HERBERT MÜLLER HOPKINS, *De vocabulis Graecis apud Plautum repertis.*

Rector of the Church of the Holy Nativity, Bronx, New York, N.Y., 1906-1910.
Died in 1910.

1899

BENJAMIN OLIVER FOSTER, *De quartae declinationis apud priscos Latinos usu.*

Assistant Professor of Latin, Leland Stanford Junior University, Stanford University, Cal.

ARTHUR GORDNER LEACOCK, *De rebus ad pompas sacras apud Graecos pertinentibus quaestiones selectae.* Harv. Stud. Class. Philol., XI (1900), pp. 1-45, 1 pl.

Professor of Greek, Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N. H.

WALTON BROOKS MCDANIEL, *De quibusdam Hymnorum Homericorum locis corruptis coniecturae.* Transl. in part in Harv. Stud. Class. Philol., XI (1900), pp. 73-91.

Professor of Latin, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

1900

CAMPBELL BONNER, *De Danaidibus commentatio.* Revised and transl. in Harv. Stud. Class. Philol., XIII (1902), pp. 129-173.

Junior Professor of Greek, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

CARROLL NEIDÉ BROWN, *De ratione quae inter scholia Euripidis et Hesychium intercedat.*

Instructor in Greek, College of the City of New York, New York, N.Y.

GEORGE HENRY CHASE, *De insignibus in clipeis Graecis descriptis.* Transl. in Harv. Stud. Class. Philol., XIII (1902), pp. 61-127.

Assistant Professor of Classical Archaeology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

GEORGE CONVERSE FISKE, *Quas sententias gens Claudia habuerit de re publica administranda quaeritur.* Translation revised and abridged, publ. as "The politics of the patrician Claudii," in Harv. Stud. Class. Philol., XIII (1902), pp. 1-59.

Associate Professor of Latin, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

WALTER HAMILTON GILLESPIE, *De libertinorum statu apud Romanos antiquos.*

Classical Master, Cheshire School, Cheshire, Conn.

EDMUND ROBERT OTTO VON MACH, *Quaestiones archaeologicae duae.* 1. *De signo marmoreo quod vulgo Naucydis discobolus appellatur.* 11. *De praepositionis ἐπι apud Pausaniam usu.*

Writer and Lecturer, 48 Shepard Street, Cambridge, Mass.

GLANVILLE TERRELL, *De apodosi enuntiatu irrealis condicionalis in oratione obliqua Latina.* Transl. in Amer. Journ. Philol., XXV (1904), pp. 59-73.

Professor of Greek, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky.

1901

- WILLIAM WILSON BAKER, *Quid de scriptis suis aliorumque iudicarent comici Graeci*. Harv. Stud. Class. Philol., XV (1904), pp. 121-240.
Associate Professor of Greek, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.
- CHARLES NELSON COLE, *De Vergilio Catulli imitatore*.
Professor of the Latin Language and Literature, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O.
- HOMER JAMES EDMISTON, *Aristotelis Poeticam quibus modis scriptores aetate inferioris prave interpretati sint quaeritur*.
Care of Messrs. Sebasti and Reali, Rome, Italy.
- CARL NEWELL JACKSON, *Quas partes equi habebant in religionibus Graecorum?*
Assistant Professor of Greek and Latin, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
- HENRY WASHINGTON PRESCOTT, *De Daphnide commentatio*. Portions publ. in Proc. Amer. Philol. Assoc., XXXIII (1902), p. cv, and as "Notes on the scholia and the text of Theocritus," in Class. Rev. XVII (1903), pp. 107-112.
Associate Professor of Classical Philology, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

1902

- DONALD CAMERON, *Quae in Festi sententiis et oratione a Paulo mutata sint quaeritur*.
Assistant Professor of Latin, Boston University, Boston, Mass.
- FRANK LOWRY CLARK, *Qua ratione Platonis laudandi usus sit Clemens Alexandrinus quaeritur*. Abstract publ. in Proc. Amer. Philol. Assoc., XXXIII (1902), pp. xii-xx.
Professor of Greek, Miami University, Oxford, O.
- JOSEPH WILLIAM HEWITT, *De rationibus Iovis Graecorum placandi capitula*. Results publ. in Harv. Stud. Class. Philol., XIX (1908), pp. 61-120.
Associate Professor of Latin and Greek, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
- LEWIS REICHEL, *De ab, de, ex praepositionum in inscriptionibus usu*.
Principal of the Manistique High School, Manistique, Mich.
- JOHN CALVIN WATSON, *De scaenarum titulis imaginibusque personarum Terentianis in codicibus pictis*. Transl. and expanded in Harv. Stud. Class. Philol., XIV (1903), pp. 55-172.
Professor of Latin, University of Nevada, Reno, Nev.
- WILLIS PATTEN WOODMAN, *De arte piscandi apud antiquos Graecos*.
Professor of Latin, Hobart College, Geneva, N.Y.

1903

- ANDREW RUNNI ANDERSON, *De Plauti diphthongi ei usu quaestiones*. Abridged and transl. in Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc., XXXVII (1906), pp. 73-86.
Assistant Professor of Latin, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
- FLOYD GEORGE BALLENTINE, *De nympharum cultu quaestiones selectae*. Transl. in Harv. Stud. Class. Philol., XV (1904), pp. 77-119.
Assistant Professor of Latin, Bucknell College, Lewisburg, Pa.

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EARNEST CARY, *De Aristophanis Avium apud Suidam reliquiis.*

Preceptor in Classics, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

EDWIN MOORE RANKIN, *Quas partes ei qui μάγειροι vocantur in vita cotidiana Graecorum egerint.* Transl. as "The rôle of the μάγειροι in the life of the ancient Greeks," Chicago, University Chic. Press, 1907, 8°, pp. vi, 92.

Preceptor in Classics, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

OLIVER SAMUEL TONKS, *Brygos.* Mem. Amer. Acad. A. and S., XIII (1904), pp. 61-117, pl. 1, 2.

Preceptor in Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

1904

HAVEN DARLING BRACKETT, *De enuntiatorum temporalium apud Herodotum usu atque ratione commentatio.* Transl. in Proc. Amer. Acad. A. and S., XLI (1905), pp. 171-232.

Assistant Professor of Greek, Clark College, Worcester, Mass.

HAROLD LOOMIS CLEASBY, *De Seneca tragico Ovidi imitatore.* Transl. in part and expanded as "The Medea of Seneca," in Harv. Stud. Class. Philol., XVIII (1907), pp. 39-71.

Associate Professor of Latin, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y.

WILLIAM HENRY PAINE HATCH, *De verborum ἀλιτήριος, ἀλιτρός, ἀραῖος, ἐναγής, ἐνθύμιος, παλαμναῖος, προστρόπαιος usu apud scriptores Graecos usque ad annum CCC ante Christum natum.* Abridged and transl. in Harv. Stud. Class. Philol., XIX (1908), pp. 157-186.

Instructor in the Literature and Interpretation of the New Testament, General Theological Seminary, New York, N. Y.

1905

ARTHUR ALEXIS BRYANT, *De Atheniensium vita privata titulorum ope Atticorum inlustrata.*

Teacher of Classics, Chemistry, and Mathematics, DeWitt Clinton High School, New York, N. Y.

HENRY LAMAR CROSBY, *De comicorum Graecorum temporibus.*

Assistant Professor of Greek, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE, *De Sancti Hieronymi commentariolis tractatibusque in Psalmos quaestiones variae.* Abridged and transl. in Journ. Bibl. Lit., XXVI (1907), pp. 107-131.

Assistant Professor of Classics, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

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